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PEERAGE AND PEDIGREE

STUDIES IN PEERAGE LAW AND FAMILY HISTORY

BY

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SOME 'SAXON' HOUSES

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on wholly different grounds. The one includes several of our oldest—our very oldest—families, whose proved tenure of their lands begins at so remote a date that they find it difficult to conceive a time when they did *not* hold them. Ignoring the cataclysm of the Norman Conquest, they assume that their own ancestors passed unscathed through its terrors and retained their hereditary estate. One does not see why they should not similarly assume that the English Conquests of the fifth and following centuries left their own forefathers in peaceful possession. But the only family, so far as I know, that has reached this logical conclusion is that of Kelly of Kelly, whose history, as given in *The Landed Gentry*, begins only in the 12th century, but of whom we read that—

“This family,” we quote from their authenticated pedigree, “may look back beyond the (*sic*) Conquest, and derive themselves from the ancient Britons.”

It is indeed the group to which the Kellys belong, the families entitled to what might be termed ‘the blue riband’ of genealogy, that we find conspicuous among the claimants to a pre-Conquest descent. Such houses as Tichborne of Tichborne, Wolseley of Wolseley, Fulford of Fulford, Trafford of Trafford, Polwhele of Polwhele, Ashburnham of Ashburnham, Stonor of Stonor, Trelawny of Trelawny, and so forth,—they have all advanced this claim in one form or another. Whether they can prove that claim or not, these social survivals from a distant past constitute for this country its true *ancienne noblesse*. Puny indeed a modern peerage,—it would till lately have been thought,—and punier

still a modern baronetcy by the side of a tenure in the male line from a period so remote that it is older even than the surname of the house, that surname derived from the estate which still surrounds its home. Where these conditions are fulfilled, the claim might almost be made that, as in the case of a reigning house, the family has no true surname, but is known by the name of its domain. The parallel is not remote.

If genealogists are thus impressed by the long association between a family and its lands, "the man in the street," on the other hand, will probably be most impressed, not by the fact that the tenure is so old, but by the news that surnames are not of older origin. Many absurdities and much fiction would be swept out of family history if only two elementary facts were clearly and firmly grasped. The one is that hereditary surnames were not introduced in this country till after the Norman Conquest—and, in most cases, long after it: the other is that owners of estates derived their surnames from them, and did not, as sometimes seems to be imagined, give to a locality their own name.¹ If only these principles had been grasped and borne in mind, we should never have read in a county history of the first class, in the last century, of Mr. Shobbington, astride upon a bull, riding up from his seat in Buckinghamshire to the court of William the Conqueror, and being authorised (? by Royal licence) to change his name to Bulstrode; nor should we have seen the claim advanced that

¹ I am speaking, of course, of such families and estates as those cited above, and not of cases in which a farm, or other small property, bears the name of a former owner or occupier with the possessive 's' at the end of it.

Boothby in Lincolnshire derived its name from one of the Boothby family a thousand years ago.

The relatively late origin of surnames disposes also at once of the pretensions of what I have termed the other ' group ' of families conspicuous among the claimants to a pre-Conquest descent. They are those whose surnames are formed from certain Christian names, which lingered on (as I explained above) for some time after the Conquest, long enough in some cases to become the origin of surnames. In his history of his own ancient house General Wrottesley has observed that it was largely a matter of chance whether its surname would be finally fixed as Verdon from its Norman *stammhaus*, Wrottesley from its English lordship, or Symons from its ancestor Simon. Surnames indeed must largely have been a matter of chance in their origin. At the time when they were tending to become fixed, —say in the latter part of the 13th century,—there would still be a goodly number of men in the lower orders who had been christened by what we should now term old ' Saxon ' names, which, in the form of a patronymic, might pass into a surname for their sons and their descendants.

Let us open at a venture ' The Domesday of St. Paul's, ' ⁴ with its lists of peasants and their holdings in 1222. We soon discover that, then as now, fashion was spreading downward. Even peasants were beginning to discard the names of their English forefathers and to bestow upon their children those which had come from abroad with the Normans. We open the volume at the survey

¹ Published by the Camden Society in 1858.

of the Hertfordshire manor of Sandon. On the right hand page (p. 83) we meet with the three sons of a man bearing the ancient name of Æthelward (*Ailwardus*)—a name which had been also borne by “ Fabius Quæstor Patricius Æthelwerdus,” as he styled himself, historian and ealdorman, born of the royal line. They were but humble folk, these brothers, holding 20 acres in bond service apiece ; and yet they had received the Norman names of Walter, Ralf, and Geoffrey. On the opposite page we find an even humbler bondsman who holds but five acres, “ Ricardus Godwini.” Let us consider this name. The father has been christened Godwine, which, at the eve of the Conquest, was one of the commonest of English names,¹ but the son receives the Norman name of Richard. The result is that he is known as “ Richard (son of) Godwine.” If the surname is stereotyped at this point, it will become Godwin or Goodwin, and the family may claim “ Saxon origin”: if it is not stereotyped till the next generation, it may become Richards, and the thought of ‘ Saxon origin ’ will not even occur to those who bear that name. And yet the family is the same.

If we now glance at another survey, two or more generations later,² we find the same process still going on. Æthelwine (son of) Wulfnoth (*Alwynus Wulnoht*) has a grand ‘ Saxon ’ name, but his son living at Dengemarsh under Edward I has received that of Nicholas (p. 44). William son of Ælfric (*Willelmus Elurich*), of Wye (Kent) has himself

¹ See Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, II, 125-9 for its occurrence all over the country.

² *Customals of Battle Abbey* (Camden Soc., 1887.)

received a Norman name and has given those of Daniel, William, Jordan and Robert to his sons (p. 104). On the same manor a peasant bearing the ancient royal name of Æthelred ('Eylred') has given that of Simon to his son, who becomes "Simon Eylred" (p. 116). The reader, by this time, will doubtless have seen what a purely accidental thing a 'Saxon' surname is. It tells us only that, when it was formed,—possibly under Edward I (1272-1307),—the family had not yet adopted Christian names of foreign origin, being rather "behind the times" and probably of humble station.

But I would cite, from 'The Custumals of Battle' one more illustration, because it is specially to the point. Among the villein peasantry¹ and cottagers at Bromham, Wilts, we find, also under Edward I, "Willelmus Godwyne" (p. 77). Here we again recognise the 'Saxon' Christian name passing into a surname for a man who himself bears on the contrary that of the Norman Duke. He (or the first of his family to bear it) had merely been the son of a man who happened to be christened Godwine and who had no hereditary surname. Pointing out how "absurd it is in itself to mistake the Christian name for a surname and to build a pedigree on the mistake," Mr. Freeman wrote so far back as 1877 that this may even have been done in the case of the great Godwine.

I cannot say that I have seen it with my own eyes, but I have been told by a trustworthy person that there is a

¹ "Halferdlinges," i.e. tenants of half a yardland, that is, 15 acres.

book in which the son of Godwine appears as ' Harold, Earl Godwin. ' ¹

Yet, fourteen years after these words were published, there appeared in America a book which would surely have proved to Mr. Freeman " the last straw. " For to this book, *The Goodwins of Hartford, Connecticut*, ² Dr. Jessopp himself was pleased to contribute what Mr. Goodwin (for whom it was compiled) describes as " a most interesting history of the early Goodwins in East Anglia. " This amazing production begins with the statement that—

The family (*sic*) name GOODWIN is one which has been, and is, very widely distributed not only over England, but over most of the northern countries of Europe, and instances of its occurrence are to be met with in very early times. As far back as the fifth century we meet with it in Germany (*Pertz, Monumenta Germanica*, ix, 189) in the forms GUDWIN and GODWIN, etc.

The phrase " family name " is no mere slip of the writer, for he drives it home, actually writing of those " who can boast of forefathers known a thousand years ago, " etc ! And yet there is worse to come. Not content with thus confusing a Christian name with a surname, Dr. Jessopp plunges into etymology, deriving the first syllable of the name from " the Gothic theme (i) *guda* " or " another theme (ii) *goda*, " so that—

According as it is referred to the first or the second, the meaning of the name *Goodwin* will stand for *good friend* or *God's friend*. In either case it is a name of

¹ *Cont. Rev.* xxx, 25.

² The book is fair matter for comment, having been sent out for review.

honour, and tells of worthy ancestry. They who can boast of forefathers known a thousand years ago, as emphatically the *trusty friends*, etc. etc..... or, on the other hand, were known as men whose earnestness, reverence, and devotion marked them above others as *Friends of the Most High*, etc. etc..... they need not look for progenitors whom the caprice of kings may have selected for titular distinction, etc. etc..... They assuredly have noble blood in their veins.

Highly gratifying, no doubt, to Mr. Goodwin of Hartford, Conn., whose utmost efforts, we gather from his book, had failed to determine even the parentage of the first emigrant; but one could hardly imagine that an educated man would write such toady stuff. Does Dr. Jessopp really believe that every baby which happened to receive the name of Godwine at the font had proved itself a "trusty friend" or worthy by its earnestness to be termed a "Friend of the Most High"? It is difficult, no doubt, to know what he does *not* believe, for, but two pages further on, we find him writing of "the College of Heralds, which was founded by Queen Mary," although it is, surely, common knowledge that it was incorporated by Richard III.

Even in writing her sister's life for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where the utmost care was called for, Dr Jessopp contrived within a few lines to state that the Roman Catholic bishops objected to the oath of allegiance because "it spoke of the sovereign as supreme head of the Church"—although Elizabeth deliberately abandoned that style in order to avoid that objection—and that only one of these prelates, "Watson bishop of Lincoln," could be induced,—and that "at the

eleventh hour"—to crown her.¹ The bishop who did consent to crown her was, of course, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, as is set forth in the notice of him in the same *Dictionary*,² to the value of which as a work of reference Dr. Jessopp can hardly be said, by such statements, to contribute. But in this country it is more important to write in a pleasant, popular style than to cultivate what is termed, I believe, a mere pedantic accuracy.³ It is also a surer way of obtaining national recognition of one's work.

If, however, he does *not* believe that every baby christened Godwine was so named on account of its character, as 'a trusty friend' or as 'a friend of God,' the only alternative is that he does really believe that Godwine was a "family name" a thousand years ago, borne by a race distinguished above others by the admirable qualities it denotes. And as a vague allusion to "the great Earl" follows immediately on his panegyric, one can only infer that he is one of those who have made so ignorant a blunder that Mr. Freeman warned us he had not actually seen it in print with his own eyes.

Of this class of surname he very truly observed:—

In many cases the process has been simply this. A man bears as his surname one of the ancient English

¹ *Op. cit.* xvii, 209.

² *Ibid.* xlii, 49.

³ I desire to emphasize the point that Dr. Jessopp is no mere journalist or writer for popular magazines, but is deemed a serious historical writer. He was even entrusted by the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. with a Report on those of the Buxtons of Shadwell Court, in which he committed himself to the statement that "The earliest progenitor of the ancient family of Buxton of Shadwell Court..... of whom we have any certain knowledge was Peter de Bukton, knight, steward of the household of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV," etc. etc. This statement (in an official publication) was effectually demolished by another Norfolk antiquary, who proved "that the alleged descent from Sir Peter de Bukton is absolutely without foundation." (*Ancestor*, No. 6, pp. 11 *et seq.*)

names which have gone out of use as Christian names. He finds in early English history some one who bears that name as a Christian name. He first mistakes the Christian name for a surname, and fancies that the ancient worthy bore the same surname, perhaps an unusual one, as himself. Having got thus far, it would be almost impossible to keep himself back from the next step, to refrain from claiming the ancient worthy as a forefather.¹

As an instance—"a most grotesque instance"—of this process he selected the pedigree of Levinge, as it then used to appear in 'Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.'

The myth of Leighton is fairly beaten by the myth of Levinge. There is a kind of perverse simplicity about this last legend which makes it specially charming. Here it follows:—

"The family of Levinge is one of great antiquity and traces back its pedigree to Saxon times. The archbishop of Canterbury who crowned CANUTE was Levingus, and, in 1803 (sic) another Levingus was bishop of Worcester," etc:²

The 'Burke' pedigree began at that time with "Thomas Levinge Esq., of Baddesley Ensore, Co. Warwick, living in 1434," but it is not only the 'Saxon' descent that Mr. Freeman's slashing attack has sent overboard. For the pedigree now begins with the purchaser of Parwick Manor, in 1561.

The above example is so valuable for its bearing on other cases that no apology is needed for repeating Mr. Freeman's comments. He charged "the pedigree-maker" with "laying violent hands on the two eleventh-century Bishops."

¹ *Cont. Rev.* xxx, 23.

² *Ibid.* p. 23.

Both are real and well-known men..... Only what is there to connect them with the house of Levinge rather than with the house of Snooks? Simply that the hapless pedigree-maker in his ignorance of the ways of the eleventh century, took their Christian name for a surname. There is exactly as much sense to (*sic*) connect the modern family of Levinge with either of these bishops as there is to connect any family called Edwards or Edmunds with any of the Kings who bore their names..... But Leofing, Lyfing, Living—the spellings are of course endless—never was a common Christian name at any time, and it has gone out of use for ages. The pedigree-maker, therefore, did not understand that it was a Christian name at all..... He thought that two bishops of the same name must be of the same family, and that the modern bearer of the same name must be of the same family too.¹

Another baronet's family, with a precisely similar pedigree, owed to the extinction of the title its escape from Mr. Freeman's lash. The Chad pedigree began, in old editions of ' Burke,' with a canonised saint at its head.

This family is said to deduce its origin from Ceadda or Cedda, a Saxon, who was canonized in 664. The names of many places are derived from St. Chad..... The more immediate ancestor of the baronet, however, was Robert Chad Esq.....b. in 1630.

Here we have the Levinge story again—"only more so." In this case the two bishops were brothers, St. Ceadda (Chad) and St. Cedd. The compiler, having rolled them up neatly into one, leaped gaily to their descendant, a thousand years later, as "the more immediate ancestor" of the family. I think that I have met with ' St. Cedd '

¹ *Ibid*, p. 24.

as a modern surname : it is one of those of which one would like to know the history.

We shall see in the sequel that the same process of providing a family with ' Saxon ' ancestry by confusing a surname with a Christian name is being still employed. One cannot, therefore, too strongly insist or too elaborately demonstrate how intrinsically absurd the process in question is. For the present I will only add the story told me by an officer of the British Museum of how an American tourist specially desired to see a manuscript associated with St. Cuthbert, and explained that it was of peculiar interest to him as he was a Cuthbert himself.

Having now established some general principles, we may attempt a detailed enquiry, which will be greatly facilitated by treating in groups the claims of our ' Saxon ' houses.

Fairly entitled to pride of place are those families which propound a definite pedigree beginning in days before the Conquest. Next to these we may consider the claims of those ancient houses of which I have spoken, whose more or less vague beliefs need not detain us long. Then will come that group of surnames formed from obsolete Christian names which have led their bearers to believe that they have a ' Saxon ' descent. The remaining cases, if any, will be dealt with last of all.

Of those families which still propound a pedigree reaching beyond the Conquest, the worst offenders, one is forced to say, are the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk. One can only term it a lamentable thing

that the official head of The College of Arms should still sanction, year after year, the appearance, in ' Burke's Peerage,' of that grossly fabulous pedigree which has been inserted therein since 1880, and which traces the origin of his house to "Howard or Hereward living in the reign of King Edgar 957 to 973." An actual portrait of this imaginary ancestor adorns the magnificent heraldic volume, compiled by Lilly, Rouge dragon, in 1638, and now in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk.¹

Two families, however, have flown at higher game in claiming for themselves descent in the male line from the ' Saxon ' earls of Mercia. They are those of Temple and of Sneyd. In ' Burke's Peerage ' the Temple pedigree used to be "deduced" from Earl Leofric, although from him it sprang at a bound to "Peter Temple Esq. in the latter years of King Edward the sixth." This, however, is one of those tales that Mr. Freeman's savage attack² fairly hounded out of ' Burke.' It had been fully exposed years before,³ and Mr. Chester Waters subsequently observed that

The Temples of Stowe were, before the suppression of the monasteries, yeomen and tenants of the Abbot of

¹ It was formerly in the possession of Lord Northampton (see 3rd Report Hist. MSS, pp. xvii, 209). This volume contains transcripts of deeds valuable for the immediate ancestry of Sir William Howard the judge, *temp.* Edward I. the real founder of the family. See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History* for the Howards' Saxon pedigree and its repeated exposure. It will be shown below that a similar volume was compiled by the same herald for the Digby family.

² *Cont. Rev.* (1877) XXX, 38-9.

³ *Herald and Genealogist* (1866) III, 385-410. There would seem to have been good reason for skipping the intermediate descent, if the family traced its pedigree to Earl Leofric through his third son, who, "living in the reign of William the Conqueror, was wrote Henry del Temple" !

Oseney. Peter Temple acquired abbey lands and had arms granted to him in 1567. The legend of their descent from the Saxon Earls of Mercia is annually repeated in that gorgeous repertory of genealogical mythology, Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*.¹

This, however, did not prevent the late Sir Richard Temple² from bestowing, after Mr. Freeman's onslaught, the name of Godiva on one of his daughters, as Sir Grenville 'Leofric' Temple, of the other family, had already done. And Sir Richard's example has been followed in the next generation.

The legend, indeed, can itself be eradicated from works of reference, but the arms, unfortunately, cannot. I would specially invite attention to their actual evolution as typical of a Tudor practice. As with Spenser and as with Smith, the Temples soon relegated to the second and third quarters the coat granted or confirmed to them,³ and placed in the first and fourth the fabulous coat of the earls of Mercia! In my *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1901) I wrote as follows:—

'Burke' succeeds in stultifying itself, for the arms, under Temple of Stowe, 'Baronet,' are given as 'Quarterly 1st and 4th or, an eagle displayed sa., bearing the arms of the Heptarch [!] Kingdom of Mercia, which have been borne by the family since their ancestors were earls of that country'! This statement is actually made at

¹ p. 39 of an edition which bears the dates 1882 and 1887 on the title page. Mr. Waters cruelly pointed out that foundlings from the Temple also received the name of 'Temple,' and sarcastically enquired "how many of their descendants in this genealogical age confidently trace their origin from Leofric and Godiva, the mythical ancestors of all the Temples."

² Son of Mr. John Dicken, who took the name and arms of Temple only by royal License in 1796.

³ It appears to be of somewhat doubtful origin (see the *Herald and Genealogist* article.)

the foot of a pedigree beginning somewhat humbly in the days of Henry III.¹

Burke, however, impenitent, or perhaps merely indolent, continues to this day to repeat this monstrous fiction.

I pass to the family of Sneyd. Theirs is a very different claim from that of the family of Temple. Their descent from the earls of Mercia is no mere clumsy concoction obviously false on the face of it, but a perfectly plausible pedigree, of which every step is given. It is only its tremendous character that takes away one's breath. When we read in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' of one branch of this amazing house that its head is "29th in direct male descent from Eadulf (a noble of Wessex) and his wife Ælfwyn, dau. and heir of Æthelred, the last king of Mercia by Æthelflæd, dau. of Alfred the Great," one wonders if any pedigree in England can approach it in length or splendour. Cold history, it is true, reduces 'King' Æthelred to the position of an Ealdorman under Alfred the Great; but of his wife Æthelflæd, "the most remarkable woman of the whole Anglo-Saxon era," that stormer of strongholds and builder of forts,—apostrophised in awe as "Elfreda potens, O terror virgo virorum,"—one can only speak with the respect due to her who forms the connecting link between the 'Boadicea' of the pageants and the modern 'suffragette.'

¹ I added a footnote that "these arms, invented by some herald, must be recognised as valid at the College, for Mr. Fox-Davies assigned them to Sir Richard Temple of the Nash, and blazoned them, under the Duchess of Buckingham, as borne 'for Leofric' (*Armorial Families*, 1st Ed., pp. 961, 962.) though his own Introduction denies the use of armorial bearings in Leofric's time."

The 'authorities' for this wondrous pedigree together with its opening portion are thus given in 'Burke.'

The following pedigree of the ancient family of SNEYD is compiled from the following authorities: SLEIGH's *History of Leek*; WARD's *History of Stoke on Trent*; *Domesday, Staffordshire and Cheshire*; *Ancient Pedigree of Trent-hams of Rocester*; and ORMEROD's *History of Cheshire*; and from MSS. in the muniment rooms at Keele and Ashcombe and the Hulton Abbey MSS.

EADULF VEL EADWULF, son of ORDGAR, ealdorman of the Defnsætas (Devon & Cornwall) m. Ælfwyn, dau. and heir of Æthelred, last king and 1st earl of Mercia, by Æthelflæd, dau. of Alfred the Great, and had a son

LEOFWINE, Earl of Mercia, who m. Alwara, dau. of Æthelstan, Duke of the East Angles, and had, with other issue, a 4th son,

GODWINE, tainus regis, lord according to Domesday of many manors in Staffordshire and Cheshire. He had a son

WULFRIC CILD VEL ULURIC, lord of Alditheley, Balterley, and many other manors in Staffordshire and Cheshire, according to Domesday, m. a daughter of William Count of Arques, son of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, and had, with other issue, an eldest son,

GAMEL, tainus regis, Lord of Alditheley, Talke and Balterley, etc. in the County of Stafford, Mottram Andrew, Cedde, etc. in the co. of Chester, at the Domesday survey, had issue by his wife (probably a Verdun)

ADAM DE ALDITHELEY (le [*sic*] Verdun), lord of Alditheley, Balterley etc. in the co. of Stafford. He was the brother of Robert de Stanley vel Stonlegh, Sheriff of Staffordshire 1123-1128. He was father of

LYNULPHUS [*sic*] de Alditheley, son and heir, sheriff of Cheshire *temp.* King Stephen, m. Mabel de Stonlegh vel Stanley, dau. of Henry de Stanley, and had issue

I. ADAM DE ALDITHELEY, of Alditheley, father of HENRY DE ALDITHELEY, lord of large estate in Staffordshire, Cheshire, etc., founder of Hulton Abbey A.D. 1223, d. 1286.

II. ROBERT DE ALDITHELEY, of whom we treat.

It is alleged that this Robert took the surname of Sneyd from the lands he held there, and that from him the Sneyds descend. But what concerns me here is the early portion of the pedigree, the descent from the Earls of Mercia.

It will simplify matters if I say at once that the first paragraph must all be rejected, because Leofwine's parentage (as Mr. Freeman observed) has not been ascertained. As for the rest, the sole 'authority' on which the pedigree rests is that of "the Hulton Abbey MSS." Now these consist, it is no secret,¹ of certain pieces of parchment which were purchased by a member of the Sneyd family as genuine within the last half century at most. Their *provenance* is quite uncertain and their genuineness is gravely impugned.

In 1893 General Wrottesley, perceiving the importance of these documents, if genuine, went into the matter with great care and had photographs submitted to him. The documents do not profess to be the original charters, but are transcripts or rather recitals of them, both sides of the parchments being written on, as if they came from the cartulary or register of a religious house. On the ground of the handwriting and of erroneous abbreviations, as well as from internal evidence, the General pronounced them to be "forgeries." He

¹ My authority for this statement and for others below is Major General the Hon. George Wrottesley, who had full knowledge of the facts.

subsequently showed them to two officers of the Public Record Office, who stated that, in their opinion, "They were very clumsy forgeries."

Internal evidence alone is enough, I consider, to condemn them, though only to the satisfaction, perhaps, of an expert. To those who, like myself, have made a study of such things, the most suspicious feature about them is that they are so obviously constructed for a genealogical purpose. Four charters prove, between them, a pedigree of ten generations! The first, however, is the most important, and also the most startling.

I.

"Henricus de Alditeleghe pro salute anime sue et Bertreie uxoris sue et Ade patris sui et Petronelle matris sue et Liulfi avi sui et Mabilie avie sue et Ade proavi sui et Gameli abavi sui et Wulfrici Cild atavi sui et Godwini tritavi sui et Leofwini Comitris patris Godwini et pro salute animarum antecessorum et successorum dedit et concessit deo et Sancte Marie et abbati et monachis de Hulton VI caruc' terre in decanatus Novi Castri et de Alueton. Et dedit predictis Monachis annuam pensionem X marcarum de ecclesia de Alditeleghe. Harum rerum fuerunt testes Nicholaus de Verdun. Willelmus Pantun. Willelmus de Alditelegele."

'The man in the street' must take it from the expert "that these things do not happen." Benefactors did not recite their pedigree for the convenience of remote descendants. Alexander Swereford set himself, at just about the same time, to recite, as a matter of historical interest, the descent of King Henry III from "Adam son of the living God."¹ But he did so in simple biblical

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 3-4.

fashion, without borrowing a *tritavus* from Plautus or displaying his acquaintance with the niceties of classical genealogy. For Henry " de Alditheley " the strain of doing so must have proved too severe ; for it led him to give the name of his own mother as ' Parnelle ' (*Petronilla*), although it happened to be Emma.¹

Domesday, I ought to explain, does not prove a single link of the pedigree ; and as Godwine and Wulfric are two of the commonest English names in the record, it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the bearers of such names. The survey, indeed, does mention one Wulfric ' Cild,' but not as the lord of manors " in Staffordshire and Cheshire ; " he is named among those who had enjoyed special privileges in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (fo. 280 b.) Again, it would seem that Earl Leofwine actually had a son Godwine, but, as he predeceased his brother, earl Leofric, we should not expect to find his name. Indeed, all that we know of him is found in Heming's Worcester Cartulary,² where we read that at his death (before 1057) he restored Salwarpe (near Droitwich) to the church, but that his son and successor Æthelwine (not Wulfric) kept possession of it by the help of his uncle, earl Leofric.³

' Gamel ' was by no means an uncommon name

¹ I am indebted to General Wrottesley for this fatal flaw. Testing his criticism, I have found it sound. It is clearly proved by a suit of 12 Henry III for the manor of Horton, in conjunction with other evidence, that Henry was son of Adam de Audley by Emma daughter of Ralf son of Orm of Darlaston, and that he succeeded an elder brother Adam (unmentioned in the pedigree and the deeds).

² Ed. Hearne, I, 259-260.

³ He appears to be the " Ælwin[us] cilt " who is entered in Domesday as its holder before the Conquest.

in the ' Danish ' district of England : it was frequent, indeed, in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. But there is no question that a single Gamel held lands in Audley, Balterley, and Talk (in Audley) as a Thegn in 1086. Who his father was, or by whom he was succeeded, we do not know. A deed which forms the sheet anchor of the Audley and Stanley pedigrees will show us Gamel's lands in the hands of a single holder a century or so, perhaps, after the Domesday Survey. To this we shall come in due course ; but, for the present, we must keep to Sneyd.

It will not be necessary to print all the four documents on which the pedigree rests, but the second must be given because it forms the correlative of the one that is printed above. It is intended to prove that Richard de Sned was, like Henry de Audley, a grandson, paternally of that Liulf ' de Alditheley,' the one important man whom we have to keep in view. Like its predecessor, this document is suspiciously rich, it will be seen, in genealogical information.

II.

" Ricardus de Sned filius Roberti de Alditeley pro anima sua et Rosie uxoris sue filii Henrici de Praers et Roberti patris sui et Johanne matris sue et Liulfi de Alditeley avi sui et Mabilie avie sue et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum suorum dedit assensu Henrici de Alditeley deo et Sancte Marie et Abbati et Monachis de Hulton landam que vocatur Sithefeld¹ juxta boscum de Sned. Hiis Testibus : Willelmo de Auditheg

¹ Can this name have been suggested by the fact that a scythe is the charge on the Sneyd coat ? It is said, however, to be derived from the Praers family.

(*sic*), Roberto de Praers, Willelmo de Chetelton, Willelmo de Uppeslau, Benedicto de Coudray, Ricardo clerico, Ricardo Griffin, Johanne de Bec, et multis aliis.

Predicta landa jacet in Bosco de Sned quem Henricus de Alditeley dedit deo et Sancte Marie et abbati et Monachis de Hulton.

Ricardus de Sned sepultus festo sancti Mathei Apostoli anno regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis vicesimo tercio. ”¹

What concerns me in this paper is to show that there is no evidence for the descent in the male line (alleged in the pedigree) of the Audleys from the earls of Mercia, or rather that the evidence consists only of documents concocted for the purpose. Whether the Sneyds (as is now alleged) are descended in the male line from the Audleys is a wholly distinct question which does not immediately concern us. It is, however, the conviction of General Wrottesley that even for this alleged descent there is no trustworthy evidence, and that the earliest authentic mention of the family is in 1298, when the Inquisition taken on the death of Nicholas de Audley reveals the first Sneyd in a somewhat humble position as the socage tenant of a messuage and 24 acres of land in Tunstall. ² In the next Inquisition (1307) the same ‘ Thomas de Snedde ’ recurs with the same holding, together with an Andrew and a John ‘ de Snedde, ’ of whom the former holds a messuage and 15½ acres, both

¹ i. e. 1239. I have had to take the text of both these Sneyd documents from copies made by a member of the family for General Wrottesley.

² General Wrottesley writes to me on this subject: “ I have not met with any Sneyd anterior to the socage tenants named in the Audley Inquisitions *temp.* Edw. I.” These Inquisitions are published in Vol. XI. (New Series) of the Salt Society’s Collections.

in Tunstall. Such is the inexorable witness of the Public Records.

There might here be an end of the matter if it only concerned the family of Sneyd ; but it concerns at least three others, and one of these is the historic house of the Stanleys, earls of Derby.

I will deal, however, first with that of Wolrich, because its claim (through Henry de Audley) to precisely the same descent from the Earls of Mercia was published in Burke's *History of the Commoners* (IV, 757) so far back as 1838, which proves that this descent is no recent invention.¹ It is there similarly carried up to "Ethelred, last king and first Duke of Mercia," etc. etc., but is a good deal developed both before and after the Conquest. The Domesday Gamel becomes "Gamel de Tettesworth," and is provided with three brothers, who become the patriarchs of yet other houses. The Wolrich pedigree itself is traced from Adam, an alleged third son of Henry de Audley, who, instead of being styled, as we might expect, Adam Fitz Henry (or Adam de Audley) was named, we learn,—presumably from one of his supposed ancestors—"Sir Adam Fitz Wolfric or Wolriche knt. of Gretton, Wenlock, and Wickshall."

Nowadays, however, the Woolrych pedigree, in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, begins abruptly with this Adam, of whom we read that—

¹ A curious MS. pedigree of the Trenthams of Rocester, of which I have seen a copy, traces the descent of "the worshipfull Francis Trentham of Rocester," through his great-grandmother, Jane Sneyd, from "Leofwine, Earl of Mercia and so.... from Alfred the Great." As the grandfather and namesake of this Francis was aged 19 at the 1583 visitation, this pedigree may be of about the middle of the 17th century. But where is its original ?

This very ancient Shropshire family is descended from Sir Adam Wolryche, *knt. temp.* Henry III he was admitted of the Roll of Guild Merchants of Shrewsbury 1231, by the Saxon name ADAM WULFRIC.

A humble and suitable name this for a Shrewsbury merchant,¹ but not one under which we should expect to find "Sir Adam Wolryche *knt.*," and even less, a son of Henry de Audley, a descendant of the earls of Mercia.²

Exeunt, therefore, Sneyd and Wolrich as descendants of the house of Audley and, through it, claimants to a share in the finest pedigree in England. There remain the house of Audley itself and, more important than all, the Stanleys, Earls of Derby.

It was practically, under Henry III that the Audleys, in the person of Henry, rose to wealth and importance.³ They became Lords Audley and eventually Earls of Gloucester; and their native origin curiously illustrates the resilience of the English race. It is also a singular coincidence that "James of Aldithel" is a witness to what would seem to be the earliest Royal proclamation issued in the English tongue.⁴

Audley—the 'Aldidelege' of Domesday—from which they derived their name, lies in the north-

¹ The admission Roll has been printed by the Shropshire Archæological Society. The name is "Adam Wulfricus" simply; the date 1232; and the names among which it is found are obviously those of men in a lowly position.

² I take this opportunity of observing that, in my experience, a pedigree which is traced up, as in this case, to an alleged cadet, should always be most narrowly scrutinised, as bygone genealogists were apt to foist such cadets into a family without any ground for doing so.

³ See the long list of his lands (1227) in *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I. 36-7.

⁴ That of Oct. 18, 1257, announcing the King's adhesion to the Provisions of Oxford.

west of Staffordshire, near the Cheshire border. Adjoining it on the west is Balterley, and on the north-east, 'Talk (on the hill).'

"The Moorlands," in the western corner of which these places lay, were a mainly rocky, barren region, presenting few attractions to Norman greed. In it, therefore, there lingered, even at the time of Domesday, a group of English thegns. Of these one was Gamel, who held at the above places. He is identified in the Sneyd pedigree with a Gamel who held far to the north at Mottram (in Prestbury), but I know of nothing to support this, which seems, indeed, at direct variance with the manorial descents. Mr. Eyton, however, appears to have formed the strange theory that they were not only one, but a son of Grifin (? "Rex Grifinus") T.R.E., and he added that "The Pipe Roll of 1130 shows Gamel to have been recently slain by Lyulph de Audley, whose posterity enjoyed Gamel's three estates".¹ This is a statement which is frequently and confidently made, but it involves two suppositions, both of them, surely, hazardous.²

We have seen how Liulf makes his appearance in the 'Landed Gentry' pedigree of Sneyd: we will now see how 'Burke's Peerage' enters him under 'Derby.'

ADAM DE ALDITHLEY attended duke WILLIAM to England and was accompanied from Aldithley, in Normandy,

¹ *Staffordshire Domesday*, p. 76.

² The first is that the "Aldredeslega" of the Roll represents Audley. This it certainly does not do, so that one would be forced to assume that the scribe had written it in error for 'Aldidelege' or some such form. The other is that the slain Gamel was the man of that name who had held Audley 44 years before. This obviously is a mere conjecture.

by his sons Lydulph and Adam de Aldithley, and had large possessions conferred upon him by the CONQUEROR.

LYDULPH, eldest son, was father of Adam de Aldithley, which Adam was possessed in right of his wife, Mabella, dau. and heir of Henry Stanley de Stoneley (!) of the manor of Stoneley and Balterley co. Stafford (Dugdale's *Baronage*) and was ancestor of the Barons Audley, of Healey Castle, co. Stafford ; and

ADAM DE ALDITHLEY, second son, was father of WILLIAM DE ALDITHLEY, to whom Thomas Stanley, of Stafford, kinsman of Henry Stanley, of Stoneley, gave his only dau. and heir, Joan, and with her, as a marriage portion, the manor of Thalk, co. Stafford : he having exchanged Thalk for Stoneley, and half the manor of Balterley, with his cousin Adam, made choice of Stoneley for his seat, and in honour of his lady, and the great antiquity of her family (of noble Saxon descent), who flourished in England many years before the Conquest, assumed the surname of

STANLEY, and became the immediate founder of the Stanleys.

Here one need not be a critic : one has only to act as showman. Side by side we place those productions of Burke Brothers, *The ' Landed Gentry '* and the *' Peerage. '*¹ Both they tell us, are authoritative works : in both we find the latest fruit of genealogical research. Excellent. Let us, therefore, now deal with that gallant family party which landed at Pevensey Bay on that eventful Thursday in 1086.

They came, says *' Burke's Peerage, '* " from Aldithley in Normandy " ; but, if so, they must

¹ There lie before me the 1894 edition of the *' Landed Gentry '* " edited by his sons," and the 1899 edition of the *' Peerage '* " edited by his son " (Somer set Herald).

have brought it with them. For "Aldithley," according to the 'Landed Gentry,' lay "in co. Stafford," and was the home of Adam and 'Lynulph,' as it had been of their fathers before them. 'Lydulph,' again, according to the 'Peerage' arrived in 1066; but the 'Landed Gentry' shows us his grandfather Gamel in possession of the family seat twenty years later (1086). But Liulf, however spelt, could afford to wait: according to the same authority, he was sheriff of Cheshire under Stephen (1135-1154), when he doubtless delighted the county with his personal reminiscences of William's great victory in 1066. It was he, according to the 'Landed Gentry,' who married the 'Stanley' heiress: not at all, says the 'Peerage'; it was his son Adam. As both these works, we know, are authoritative, there would seem to have been a clear case for the ecclesiastical courts.

The Sneyds, it would appear, jealously refused to share even with the earls of Derby their great Mercian descent; for the 'Landed Gentry,' as it lies before me, ignores the Stanleys' ancestor.¹

On the other hand, the earls of Derby, greedy for Norman origin, could hardly claim, at the same time, to be sprung from Mercian earls. It is true that both Liulf and 'Alditheley' are distinctively English names, but 'Burke' is obsequiously ready

¹ He has been subsequently, but unfortunately, introduced under 'Lynulphus de Alditheley,' of whom we now read that he married a daughter of "Henry de Stanley whose younger brother Adam de Alditheley, was father of William de Stanley, ancestor of the present Earl of Derby," This makes 'confusion worse confounded.'

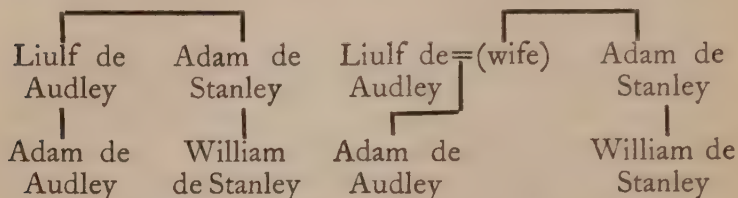
to recognise them both as Norman. The grossness of the error has been pointed out, and not only by myself : but why trouble to remove mere error from one's text ? It is infinitely less trouble to assure the public that you do so ; and, as for the critics, *eant ad inferos*.

Now the real explanation of all this contradiction and confusion is to be found in a single deed, which constitutes, as I have expressed it, the sheet anchor of the pedigree. Around its actual evidence has been woven a fabric of fiction, and the whole resultant production has moved up or down in time according to the date assigned to the deed. Dugdale, who had seen this deed, gives its purport in his *Baronage* (II, 247), and a transcript of it is preserved among his MSS. This runs as follows.

Adam de Aldelegh omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Francis et Anglicis salutem. Sciatis quod ego Adam filius Lydulfi de Aldelegha do et concedo Willelmo de Standlegha filio Ade de Standlegha avunculi mei totam Standleggh cum omnibus pertinentiis suis libere et quiete de omnibus que ad me pertinent pro duodecim denariis annuatim reddendis etc., ipse et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis. Præterea do eidem Willelmo dimidiam Balterlegam et servitium Lidulfi de toto quod de me tenuit. Et si ego vel heres meus non possimus warantizare illi vel heredibus Standlegam, ego vel heredes mei dabimus illis quantum etc. Et hanc predictam terram de Baltreleggh tenebunt pro forinsecum servitium faciendo. Has autem predictas terras do ei et heredibus suis in escambium propter villam de Talc, tenend' et habend' de me et heredibus meis etc. Hiis testibus : Henrico de Preyes ; Roberto de Aldeleggh ; Ada capellano ; Rogero de Paynell' ; Ricardo fratre suo ; Joceranno ; Philippo

capellano de Lec ; Willelmo.... Ada fratre Willelmi de Standlegh ; Thoma fratre ejus etc.¹

As the word ' avunculus ' is ambiguous and may mean the brother of a father or of a mother, this deed is compatible with either of these pedigrees :—



But, as William de Stanley, we see, was already in possession of Talk (on the Hill), which, with Audley and half Balterley, formed the Domesday holding of Gamel, it is reasonable to suppose that Liulf and Adam were brothers, between whom that holding had been divided.

It will be observed that this deed does not mention Adam, the alleged father of Liulf, and, although Eyton assumed his existence and even asserts that he divided his holding between his two sons,² General Wrottesley assures me that he is "a complete myth."

Liulf himself was a real man, and, as he must have been contemporary with Ralf Fitz Orme of Darlaston (whose daughter married his son), he must have flourished about King Stephen's time. There is grim humour in the thought that the compilers of the Stanley pedigree, anxious to find a Conquest ancestor, in the male line, for the earls,

¹ This text was kindly supplied to me by General Wrottesley. It is obvious that the transcript has some small inaccuracies, but they do not affect the purport of the deed.

² *Staffordshire Domesday*, p. 90.

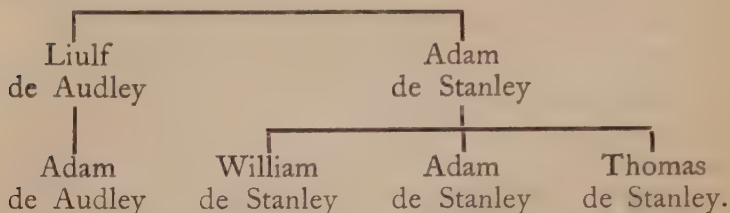
pitched upon this Liulf with his essentially English name, turned him into a Norman, and threw him back to the Conquest. They then further made him contemporary with a Henry and a Thomas Stanley, whose essentially Norman names proved them to be native English and to be members of a "family of noble Saxon descent, who flourished in England many years before the Conquest." All this we read in 'Burke,' and it is dear to the heart of the newspaper paragraphist, who will tell us how a quite impossible "William Stanley of Stanley was a powerful man in England fifty years before the battle of Hastings." ¹

The glory of the Norman Liulf has of late been somewhat dimmed by the splendour of the Saxon Stanleys, although the latter are only claimed as ancestors in the female line of the earls. There was, of course, no such family, nor can Henry or Thomas Stanley, so far as I know, be discovered. We can only find a Robert de Stanley, sheriff of Staffordshire (1123-1128), whose identity has not been determined. Stanley itself, a township in Leek, lay in the Staffordshire 'Morlands,' some eight or nine miles eastward of Audley, and, therefore, at some distance from Gamel's compact holding. It is not even named in Domesday, but has been supposed to be there included under Endon, its neighbour. There is nothing to show how it came to pass into the hands of the Audleys' ancestor; and the difficulty is increased by his younger brother (as he is assumed to be) Adam taking his surname from the place, though the deed

¹ *Evening Standard and St James' Gazette*, 5 Dec. 1905.

shows that it belonged to his nephew and, presumably, to his nephew's father.¹

The pedigree established by the above deed may be set forth as follows :—



But this pedigree is complicated, though in an interesting fashion, by a series of deeds in the Kenilworth cartulary, for my knowledge of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. J. Ellis.² Kenilworth Priory was a Clinton foundation, and these deeds exhibit the Audleys in close connexion with Clintons and Verdons. Norman de Verdon had married Lesceline daughter of Geoffrey de Clinton, the chamberlain, and the Audleys seem to have been connected (though it is not known how) with the Verdons, of whom they held Audley, and whose arms they bore with the tinctures differenced. When Bertram de Verdon was sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1180, Adam de 'Aldithelega' (or 'Aldedelega') was one of his two deputies,³ and the latter witnesses a charter of the former to Croxden Abbey, Staffs.⁴ We find ourselves on sure ground with that

¹ It should be observed that Adam, the grantor, recognised his title of Stanley to be somewhat doubtful, for he admits, in the deed, a doubt as to his power to "warrant" it to the grantee.

² Of the Department of MSS., Brit. Mus.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 26 Hen. II, p. 97. His mother Lesceline is mentioned on the Roll as still living.

⁴ Cott. chart. XI, 7.

" Adam de Alditheleg(a) ", who buried his wife Emma in Kenilworth Priory,¹ for they, we have seen, were the parents of Henry de Audley. Adam granted on this occasion a small endowment in Redfen ('Wridfen'). It is round this Adam, as it seems to me, that the Kenilworth charters revolve;² and the " L(iulfus) frater Ade de Aldithel(ega) " who is a witness to two of Henry de Clinton's charters concerning Redfen must therefore be a brother (?unknown) of his—apparently a younger brother—and not his father Liulf. This conclusion is strengthened by " Adam filius Ade de Aldithel(ega) " attesting one of these charters as well as Adam himself, for we know from other evidence that Adam had a son of his own name, senior to Henry, who obtained, doubtless through Verdon influence, lands in Ireland.

The deed of family arrangement transcribed above provides, we saw, that Stanley itself was to be held by annual payment of twelpence from the Stanleys to the Audleys, and, as General Wrottesley has pointed out to me, it is again to the Inquisitions taken on the death of the Audleys that we must have recourse to learn the names of those by whom Stanley was held. Now the Inquisition of 1298 shows us a Walter de Stanley as then paying this rent, and, although he does not figure in the pedigree of the earls of Derby, he must have been the holder of Stanley at the time. A Walter de Stanley also occurs on a Staffordshire Assize Roll of 56 Hen. III (1271-2). It is

¹ Harl. MS. 3650, fos. 66, 71 b. Compare p. 21 above.

² *Ibid.* fos. 8 b., 62, 65, 65 b, 66, 71 b. Mr. Ellis dates these charters " late Hen. II," which harmonises well.

alleged by Dugdale in his *Baronage* that, at the time of his writing, the Staffordshire Stanley still belonged to the Stanleys of Hooton, Cheshire, of whom the earls of Derby were cadets. If he was rightly informed, and the estate had really descended to them, the fact at once confirms the descent they claimed.

But between the deed of family arrangement under Henry II and the first appearance of the Stanleys in Cheshire there is a gap of not less than a century to be bridged, and there seems to be very little evidence for the intervening links. Indeed, the existence of Walter de Stanley throws distinct doubts on the accepted details of the pedigree. The turning-point in the history of the family was the marriage with the heiress of Baumville, which brought them into Cheshire and gave them the forestership of Wirral.

A plea-roll of 35 Edw. III (1361-2) proves that William de Stanley made good his right to this office¹ in virtue of the marriage of his grandfather William with Joan eldest daughter and co-heiress of Philip de Baumville, hereditary forester of Wirral.² And a Chester plea-roll of 4 Edw. II (1310-1311) records the conviction of the latter William, with his son John, for oppression as forester of Wirral, and his office was taken from him,³ though afterwards restored. He was, doubtless, the William de Stanley who was paying the twelvepence

¹ i. e. "to appoint six serjeants, who were to be maintained by the villis within the forest, also the right of hunting the hare and fox within the forest and other franchises specified" (Wrottesley's *Pedigrees from Plea Rolls*, 149.)

² It is presumed that the stags' heads on the bend in the Stanley coat refer to their forest office.

³ See also the chamberlain's accounts for 1303.

rent for Stanley at the death of Thomas de Audley in 1307.

The touch of human interest in all this is given by the Inquisition on the death of Philip de Baumville (March 1283-4), which thus records the marriage of William de Stanley with his daughter.

William de Stanleghe contracted marriage with the abovesaid Joan, saying, ' Joan I give thee my troth to have and hold thee for my lawful wife to my life's end, ' and the said Joan gave him her troth in like words ; it was before the death of the said Philip, on Sunday after St. Matthew two years ago, before Adam de Hoton and Dawe de Coupland, at the church of Asteburi ; ¹ for the said Philip, his wife and family, were at a banquet (*convivium*) of Master John de Stanleghe, and Joan, doubting that her father would marry her to a son of her step-mother, on that occasion accepted the said William as her husband. ²

It is to be observed that Master John (after whom William may have called his son John) is omitted from the Stanley pedigree (as given) no less than Walter, who, we have seen, must have held Stanley in 1298.

From the Baumville match, however, the pedigree is clear down to the two brothers Sir William and Sir John de Stanley, of whom the elder married the Hooton heiress, and founded the Stanleys of Hooton, ³ afterwards Baronets, while Sir John, the

¹ The name of the Church is important, for Astbury, though in Cheshire, is only just across the border of that part of Staffs. where dwelt the Audleys and Stanleys.

² *Calendar of Inquisitions*, Vol. II, p. 306. Joan was the eldest daughter, but it is not clear whether the forestership, as an office (and therefore impartible) descended to her alone.

³ " We come to Hooton, a goodly ancient manor, which ever since the reign of Edward II hath been the seat of the Stanleys of Hooton, gentlemen

younger, married the Lathom heiress and was ancestor of the Earls of Derby. The upshot, then, of the whole matter is that the Stanleys can claim descent, not from Liulf de Audley, but from his brother Adam; that these brothers were living under Stephen and Henry II; and that Liulf's name proves them to have been of native English descent. But beyond that we cannot go.

The reader, probably, will not be sorry that there are houses with pedigrees alleged to begin in England before the Conquest, whose claims can be effectually disposed of without any tedious enquiry. Chronology is fatal to two, impossible nomenclature to others, foreign origin to some, while the rest are devoid of proof.

The pedigree of one of our oldest—our very oldest—houses, that of Kingscote of Kingscote, has at its head "Ansgerus the Saxon, living 985." But even a glance at the pedigree as given in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' is enough to make evident its impossibility.

NIGELL FITZ ARTHUR, grandson of ANSGERUS the Saxon, living 985, m. Adeva, dau. of Robert Fitz Hardinge, grandson of Sueno, the 3rd King of Denmark, by Eva, niece of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. With this lady he received as dower the manor of Kingscote (called in Domesday Book Chingescote).

ADAM DE KINGSCOTE, of Kingscote, (son of Nigell Fitz-Arthur by Adeva his wife) had a confirmation of that manor 1188, from his uncle, lord Maurice Fitz-Hardinge.

of great dignity and worth; on whom Ranulph, the first earl of Chester, bestowed the bailiwick of Wirral, and delivered to him a horn to be the token of his gift" etc. This quaint account in the 'Vale Royal' is somewhat inaccurate, but the forester's horn of office is said to have been preserved in the family.

The chronology of this pedigree is fatal. Nigel Fitz-Arthur is son-in-law of a man who died in 1171, and grandson of a man who was "living 985." The next two generations add to the wonder, for Nigel's younger son appears to have lived till 1241, and so did Nigel's grandson.¹ Thus the great grandson of a man "living 985" was himself living as late as 1241! Nigel Fitz-Arthur, I hasten to add, was a very real person, who begins to attest Berkeley Charters as early as the close of Stephen's reign. His father Arthur, therefore, must have lived under Henry I and Stephen. But who this Arthur was there seems to be nothing to show. His name is of the rarest in Domesday, and, of its two bearers in 1086, one is expressly termed a Frenchman (*quidam Francigena*).

If, as is possible, Nigel married a daughter of Robert Fitz-Harding—the form 'Adeva' is rather impossible, but is obviously meant for a 'Saxon' name,—it is at least certain that Robert Fitz Harding was not the grandson of the King of Denmark, a legend which the Berkeleys, his descendants, have long since dropped,² though they seem to have urged it even as late as the days of Charles II. At the Restoration Lord Berkeley, in his petition for a higher precedence, set forth his lineal descent from Robert Fitzhardinge, grandson to the King of Denmark; and the patent creating him an earl (1679) set forth his high descent "from the illustrious and very ancient family of the Barons of Berkeley, whose progenitor Maurice, son of Robert

¹ *Burke's History of the Commons* I, 280.

² See Jeayes' *Berkeley Charters and Muniments* (1892), pp. i-ii.

Fitzhardinge, sprung from the Royal stock of the Danish kings, and a most distinguished champion in the Conquest of England," etc. etc.¹ This would make the family of Conquest, not of 'Saxon' stock, though one does not see how Robert Fitzhardinge, who lived under Stephen and Henry II, can have taken part in the Conquest. The Danish origin of the Berkeleys is not even to be found in the pages of 'Burke's Peerage.' This latter work, however, provides Robert with a wife, not in a niece of the Conqueror, but in "Eva, sister of Durand, and daughter of Sir Estmond and Godiva his wife"! One knows not which is the more ridiculous of these rival efforts of Burke brothers.

In its obituary notice of Sir Nigel Kingscote, the *Standard* of Sept. 23, 1908 stated that "The pedigree roll in the house at Kingscote traces this family back to the year 985. Sir Nigel was the 25th in descent from Robert Fitzharding, a grandson of the King of Denmark, and husband of Eva, niece of William the Conqueror." But the real distinction of the Kingscotes is expressed in the quaint words of Smyth of Nibley :—

It may be said of this family, as doubtless of no other in the county of Gloucester, nor I think, of many others in this kingdome, that the present Mr. Kingscote and his lineal ancestors have continued in this manor nowe about 500 years, never attainted, nor dwelling out of it elsewhere, nor hath the tide of his estate higher or lower flowed or ebbed, in better or worse condition ; but like a fixed star in his firmament to have remained without any remarkable change.

¹ *Berkeley Case Minutes* (1829), p. 265.

Three hundred years have passed since then ; but Kingscote has still a Kingscote for its lord.

It is a singular fact, which may have escaped notice, that there seems, under Charles the First, to have been a distinct craze for 'Saxon' ancestry. The most striking case, perhaps, is that of Sir Edward Dering, to which we shall come below. But in 1638 was compiled the great genealogy of the Howards from "the raigne of King Edgar," and in 1632 Garter Segar had traced the Westons from an ancestor living "in the reign of Edward the Confessor." Eager, restless, credulous, and a bit of a romancer himself, the famous Sir Kenelm Digby resolved to be Saxon too. In 1634, "at the expence of twelve hundred pounds,"¹ he produced a great genealogy of his house tracing its descent, step by step, from Ælmar, "Anglus-Saxonicus qui tenuit terras in Tilton, com. Leicr."

The pedigree in *Burke's Peerage* now begins thus :—

In the Confessor's reign Aelmer held land at Tilton, co. Leicester. The family of Digby descending from him were sometimes styled Diggeby de Tilton and sometimes Tilton only.

The earliest Digby named, however, is a "Robert de Digby" in 1234. But the intervening steps can be supplied from other sources.² Although these differ in details, they agree in making Robert de

¹ Pennant's *Journey from Chester to London* (in 1780), p. 441 (Ed. 1811). His description of this "famous genealogy" shows that the volume was the work of Lilly, the herald who afterwards compiled the splendid Howard genealogy (p. 15 above). This would account for its great cost. Pennant had borrowed the volume from Watkin Williams.

² *Burke's Commoners*, IV, 460 ; *Lipscombe's Bucks*, I, 147.

Digby who lived in 1260 a great-grandson of Ælmar who lived under the Confessor, some two centuries earlier. As in the Kingscote case, chronology is fatal to the claim. Moreover, Tilton and his other lands were lost by Ælmar at the Conquest and bestowed on Robert Despenser, a great Norman baron. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that Ælmar was the ancestor of the Digbys.

The name, however, of the supposed ancestor was revived by the family, as in other cases, in the 19th century. In the great days of the Gothic revival, when George the Fourth was crowned with almost medieval splendour, with a real champion astride on a real circus horse, ancient pedigrees were furbished up and long forgotten names returned to life. Among them was that of the Digbys' patriarch in the queer form "Almarus."

But if the modern scientific genealogist must jettison this old pedigree, does he, in so doing, deny the antiquity of the Digbys? By no means. He seeks to reconstruct it on the sure ground of records. That the surname was originally derived from Digby in Lincolnshire is obvious. Now, in a return of the year 1235, we find Robert "de Diggeby" holding half a fee at Tilton¹ (between Leicester and Oakham) and Robert "de Tilton" holding half a fee in Digby² (north of Sleaford). We shall, probably, not be wrong in assuming that these were the same man. We then seek to identify in the great return of knights (1166) these two under-tenancies, and we duly recognise the former

¹ *Testa de Nevill*, p. 92.

² *Ibid.* 319.

in the half-fee held by Everard "de Tilinton" (or "Tilitone") of William de Beauchamp,¹ while the latter must be found in that knight's fee which was held jointly of Ralf Hanselin by Walter "de Diggeby" and William, two boys (*duo pueri*).² The inference I should draw from this evidence is that the two holdings were in the hands of different families in 1166 but had become united, through a marriage, before 1235. Tilton, however, became the seat of the family,³ and it was there that the pedigree-makers sought to find their 'Saxon' ancestor. He selected for the purpose *Ælmar*', who occurs under Tilton as the former holder, *not* of Tilton only, but of two other manors as well,⁴ and who is clearly identical with the *Æilmar*' who had preceded Robert the Despenser at another Leicestershire manor and the *Ailmar*' who had preceded him at two in Warwickshire.⁵

He had then to bridge the usual gap, and he bridged it in the usual way. He took, I think, Everard de Tilton (1166) turned him into "Sir Everard Digby of Tilton," threw him back into the days of Henry I and Stephen, and made him a son of 'Ælmar' (T. R. E.) Then he took William de Digby, threw him back likewise, as a brother of Everard, and provided him with a son in Walter de Digby. He could not, even so, reach to Robert de

¹ *Liber Rubens*, p. 299.

² *Ibid.* p. 340. This entry would seem to have been overlooked. As Digby itself was held in 1086 by Geoffrey 'Alsclin,' it is clearly the knight's fee held in 1166.

³ There is no mention of them under Digby in *Feudal Aids*, but as late as 1428 these record Edward "de Tylton" as holding half a fee there.

⁴ The Domesday formula under Tilton was evidently misunderstood. "Has terras" refers, not to Tilton only, but to the manors immediately preceding it as well.

⁵ All these names represent the A. S. *Æthelmær*.

Digby, but he adopted the usual device of bifurcating Robert, and with these two Roberts he bridged at last the gap, ¹ *tant bien que mal*. ²

Lord Redesdale's pedigree in 'Burke's Peerage' begins with a very definite statement, which we may amplify by reference to that of the Mitfords of Mitford Castle in 'Burke's Landed Gentry.'

PEERAGE

The ancestor of this house was in possession of Mitford Castle in the time of Edward the Confessor, and Sir John de Mitford held the barony of Mitford at the Conquest.

LANDED GENTRY

At the time of the Conquest the barony of Mitford was held by Sir John de Mitford, whose ancestor was in possession of Mitford Castle in the time of Edward the Confessor... Sir John's only daughter, Sibella, was given in marriage by the Conqueror to Sir Richard Bertram, a son of the Lord Dignam, in Normandy, and from this union sprang the old baronial House of Bertram of Mitford... Sir John de Mitford was succeeded by his brother Matthew de Mitford, from whom, etc.

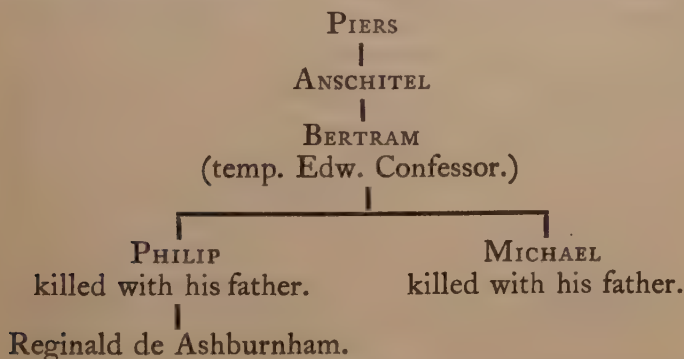
We may leave aside "The Lord Dignam," as merely one of those freakish beings whom one expects to meet with in the pages of 'Burke'; we are somewhat puzzled by that 'ancestor' of Sir John who held Mitford under the Confessor, for Sir John himself was holding it "at the Conquest," that is,

¹ Compare my demonstration of the similar treatment of Henry de Trafford to bridge the gap in the Trafford pedigree.

² I have followed the pedigree given in Burke's *Commoners*.

within twelve months of Edward the Confessor's death ; but what floors us is that the Bertrams were lords of Mitford and its castle (as they certainly were), and yet Sir John, we see " was succeeded by his brother Matthew." Was there a 'Saxon' deed of entail in favour of heirs male ? ¹ Yet even if there were, how can the brother have succeeded, to the exclusion of his niece, when it was, admittedly, the niece herself who succeeded ? However we need not concern ourselves with such problems as these : the 'Saxons' did not bestow upon their children such names as John, Matthew, or Sibella. We may bow them out all three ; " they have their exits ". Let us call the next case.

The Ashburnhams, as shown in the paper entitled 'Tales of the Conquest,' were among Mr. Freeman's victims in the *Contemporary Review*. Here we may briefly dispose of their pre-Conquest ancestry by printing in small capitals the fictitious portion of their pedigree as set forth in Drummond's *History of Noble British Families* (1846), Playfair's *Baronetage* etc.



¹ The 'Landed Gentry' gravely cites a tale that " one of ye ancestors of Mitfords of Mitford, in ye time of K. Edwd. the Confessor, did assure his wife's joynture " by deed.

It is obvious that the names of Bertram, of his grandfather (Piers !) and of his sons are all alike impossible as those of 'Saxons.' Moreover, the first known ancestor, Reginald, was in possession of Ashburnham in 1166,¹ and cannot therefore have been the son of a man killed a century earlier.

Foster's Peerage very properly began the pedigree with Reginald, but 'Burke,' though now compelled to do the same, cites Nisbet to the effect that this "is one of the ancientest families in England, which can be instructed to have been of good account in England before the Conquest." And even the rightful mention of Reginald as "the first member of the family of whom any absolutely authentic record exists" leads to an absurdity, for, having stated that he "gave to the church of St. Martin, of Battle, all the land which they had in Hou," etc, 'Burke' proceeds :—"The original grant is in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham ; it gives to *Alred of St. Martin*² all the lands of Dudewell," etc. etc. The writer of this seems to have supposed that the church of St. Martin, of Battle (i. e. Battle Abbey), was the same thing as "Alred of St. Martin," a real man, who held, like Reginald, of the Count of Eu,³ and who acted as sheriff for the Count within his Rape of Hastings.⁴ The importance of the Ashburnham case lies in the further illustration it affords of the fact that even a

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 203. He there appears as of "Oseburnham" or "Osseburnham," and, as there is no cross-reference in the Index, he might well be overlooked.

² The italics are mine.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 203.

⁴ *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 166. For the sheriffs of the Sussex rapes see my *Calendar of Documents : France*, p. li.

house of "stupendous antiquity", as was Ashburnham of Ashburnham, has to begin its pedigree, not before, or even at, the Conquest, but a whole century after that event. Again we see that our oldest families can rarely get beyond the returns of 1166.¹

The houses of FitzGerald (Duke of Leinster) and Carew can claim the proud distinction of a clear descent in the male line, not only from an ancestor whose name is mentioned in the Domesday survey, but from one who was then a 'baron' or tenant-in-chief and whose father's name is recorded. As, here at least, we are dealing with no imaginary "patriarch," but with a real follower of the Conqueror, ancestor of both those houses, 'Burke,' of course, converts him into an "English baron," and thus contrives to make grotesque an almost unique distinction. Here is what the 'Peerage' states as to the Carews' origin.

The Carews are one of the few families remaining which can trace their descent, without interruption, from the Anglo-Saxon period of English history.

OTHÓ, a powerful English baron in the time of Edward the Confessor, etc.

Under Leinster we meet again with the common ancestor, "Otho," in a passage which, with my comments thereon, I venture to quote from my former work *in extenso*.

¹ Mr M. A. Lower dealt with the Ashburnhams in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. XXIV, but he was a somewhat uncritical and frivolous genealogist, and his remarks are chiefly noteworthy as a warning against that respect for 'tradition' from which he could not free himself. He knew that Domesday shows us Ashburnham as held by "Robert de Cruel" (which he wrongly supposed to be Creully) but he weakly endeavoured to uphold tradition by suggesting that Robert might have been an interloper, after whom the 'Saxon' possessors were restored. What has to be grasped is that the Pre-Conquest Ashburnhams are demonstrably fictitious persons.

The pedigree of FitzGerald still begins with a story which is not only absolutely, but also demonstrably false:

"The FitzGerald's are descended from 'Dominus OTHO', who is supposed to have been of the family of the Gherardini of Florence... This noble passed over into Normandy, and thence, in 1057, into England, where he became so great a favourite with Edward the Confessor that he excited the jealousy of the Saxon thanes. However derived, his English possessions were enormous, which at his death devolved on his son WALTER FITZ OTHO, who, it is somewhat remarkable, was treated after the Conquest as a fellow-countryman of the Normans. In 1078 (*sic*) he is mentioned in Domesday Book as being in possession of his father's estates."

Such circumstances are certainly "somewhat remarkable," their explanation being that they are at complete variance with the facts. "Walterius filius Otheri" (*sic*), the undoubted founder of the house, first occurs in Domesday Book (not 1078, but 1086), where he is found in several counties as a tenant in chief. It nowhere styles him a son of Otho, of which 'Otto' was the Domesday form, and it does not state that his possessions had belonged to his father, but, on the contrary, proves them to have belonged to forfeited Englishmen. Thus the 'Otho' story is shown to be absolute fiction. Will Sir Bernard, I asked in my review of the 1892 edition of the *Peerage* (*Quarterly Review*) continue to repeat it, while assuring the public that he has "endeavoured to render minutely correct the ancestral details of the lineages"? We turn to the edition for 1900, subjected, as we are informed, to a "more thorough revision than usual," and we read with awe of "the laborious researches" by which Somerset Herald has so greatly increased "the genealogical value of the work." And then we find the whole fiction repeated word for word, including the gross blunder on the date of Domesday Book.¹

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*. pp. 69-70. I have subsequently dealt in detail with "the origin of the FitzGerald's" in *The Ancestor* Nos. I. and II. (1902) and with "The origin of the Carews" (*ib.* No. V, 1903).

I am now, in 1909, correcting this fiction for the fourth time, the editor of 'Burke's Peerage' having steadily continued to repeat it, while assuring the public year after year that the work has been subjected to searching revision and embodies the results of constant research.

Thirty two years ago Mr. Freeman had to complain that Sir Bernard Burke persisted in publishing "monstrous fictions," while assuring his readers that he had "subjected its pages to searching revision and extensive amendment."¹ The same assurances are still given: we read in 1900 of "a more thorough revision than usual" and of "laborious researches," while in 1901 the public was assured that :—

"Most laborious pains have been taken in this edition of 'The Peerage and Baronetage' to ensure the accuracy of every statement.... To the historical student such a work is indispensable...

I have devoted especial care and attention to the revision of the pedigrees..... correcting former errors in the light of fuller information and original research."

Next year we were boldly informed that:—

It is gratifying to the Editor to know.... that *Burke's Peerage*.... is considered authoritative on the subjects with which it deals....

To keep this huge mass of information abreast of the times and to make it complete and accurate in every particular has been my endeavour, and no trouble or labour has been spared to accomplish this aim....

My especial care has been to achieve accuracy and completeness, and the testing of all facts by research and

¹ *Cont. Rev.* XXX, 12-13.

investigation has been an undertaking of much labour difficult to realise.

These professions I dealt with in my article, "An authoritative ancestor,"¹ in which I demolished the ludicrous statements at the head of Sir Thomas Esmonde's pedigree, which had actually been amplified since I had criticised them.² This has at last enforced their withdrawal.

But the same claims continued to be made : the book proclaimed itself in 1904—

a work of real historic interest and value.

The narrative pedigrees in 'Burke's Peerage' are subjected annually to searching revision, and... the chronicles are made to keep pace with... the latest results of genealogical research and discovery.

The next year (1905) one again read of "constant genealogical research and close revision of every pedigree in the work." But need one quote further these *crambe repetita*? There is no need for "laborious researches": what is needed is the frank acceptance of the published results attained by the laborious researches of others and the withdrawal of known fictions, or, in default thereof, the cessation of assurances to the public that such fictions represent "the latest results of genealogical research and discovery."

Like FitzGerald and Carew, Shirley (earls Ferrers) has a splendid pedigree: in Domesday book the Shirleys' ancestor is only, indeed, an under-tenant; but the manors he held in that capacity

¹ *The Ancestor*, No. I, pp. 189 et seq.

² *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 63.

would have formed a decent 'barony,' and of these, Nether Easington has remained in the hands of his male descendants ever since. But when we have fully recognised that such tenure is all but unique, we must still deny that the family can trace it beyond the Conquest or indeed that they themselves are of 'Saxon' descent. In 'Burke's Peerage' we read of

SASUALLO OR SEWALUS DE ETINGDON, whose name (says Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*) argues him to be of the Old English stock. He resided at Nether Etingdon in the County of Warwick about the reign of King Edward the Confessor, which place had been the seat of his ancestors, as there is reason to believe, for many generations before that period.

There is, on the contrary, nothing to show that 'Saswalo' as Domesday styles him, resided there before the Conquest or to suggest that the place had ever been owned by his ancestors. It is no discredit to a worthy, but old-time antiquary that Dugdale imagined him from his name to be of Old English stock. Domesday, however, shows us the name occurring in seven counties under William the Conqueror, and not a single occurrence of it under Edward the Confessor.¹ Moreover our 'Saswalo' held, under Henry de Ferrers, not only Nether Easington, but manors in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Northants, which we know had not been his before the Conquest. He was, therefore, no mere English thegn, suffered to remain on his paternal acres, but one of those who, under Norman lords, shared in the spoils of England.

¹ Besides the Shirleys' ancestor, there was a 'Saswalo' (de Oseville) who held under Geoffrey de Mandeville. Mr W. H. Stevenson kindly informs me that "It is above all *not* an Anglo-Saxon name. It is a Frankish name."

There is one family whose English pedigree one cannot confidently reject. According to the *Landed Gentry*, Thursby (formerly) of Abington "claims to be of Saxon descent." This extremely vague claim is slightly amplified in the *History of the Commoners*, where "Gospatrick lord of Thoresby, living in the time of the Conquest" is named as the patriarch of the house. Gospatrick was far more than mere 'lord of Thoresby.' A great native thegn of the north, he held in Yorkshire a vast estate, and is deemed to have been the son of that Archil who made terms with the Conqueror, as a Northumbrian noble. It is alleged that, of Gospatrick's sons, Dolfin succeeded to his Thoresby estate and became ancestor of the Thoresbys.¹ One rather wishes that they had not included in Ralph Thoresby, a famous antiquary; for some of these family antiquaries have much to answer for. Nevertheless it is precisely among descendants of Yorkshire thegns that one would be most likely to find real 'Saxon' families in later times.

It is to be observed, however, that the Northamptonshire house claims descent through a John Thoresby, Mayor of Lynn Regis in 1425, who is alleged to have been the younger son of a Cumberland squire.² Unless there is evidence to prove this, one of the two Lincolnshire Thoresbys would seem more probable as the place of his origin.³

¹ The only authority for this seems to be a roll of the time of Henry VI, printed in Gale's *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*.

² Compare, p. 25, note 2 above, for such allegations.

³ Mr A. S. Ellis, in his "Notes on Ralph Thoresby's pedigree" (which he proves to be untrustworthy), points out that Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, considered the family to be probably descended from the Thoresbys of Steynton-in-the-hole, Lincs. John's name is not found on the old pedigree roll.

And in any case the Thursbys of Abington cannot be included here, for their male line came to an end in 1736.

The claims of three Cornish houses—ancient though they be—to begin their pedigrees before the Conquest fall to the ground at once for lack of proof. In 'Burke's Commoners' we have this exordium to Polwhele of Polwhele :—

This family claims Saxon origin and takes its name from the manor of Polwhele (in Domesday 'Polhel') in the county of Cornwall, a manor occupied under Edward the Confessor by WINUS DE POLHAL (Polwel or Polwyl), and then by Ulfius, a villain of the Earl of Moreton; but that was a temporary possession... In the year 1140 the Empress conferred (by a deed which begins thus 'Drogoni de Polwheile Camerario meo') lands in Cornwall upon her chamberlain, DROGO DE POLWHELE, with whom the pedigree of the family commences.

It is now, in the *Landed Gentry*, more definitely asserted that "This family is (*sic*) of Saxon origin," though the grant by the Empress, *per contra*, is merely said to be "stated."

Now, apart from the fact that a grant from the Empress cannot have had the abrupt beginning "Drogoni" etc., we find at once, on turning to Domesday, that the holder of "Polhal" under Edward was neither 'Winus' nor 'de Polhal,' but 'Ulwinus' (i. e. Wulfwine) simply. And there is absolutely nothing to connect him with that 'Drogo de Polwhele' with whom the family pedigree is alleged to begin.

With the case of Trelawny I have dealt before,¹ but 'Burke' still fatuously states that Trelawny:—

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, (1901), p. 65.

in the time of King Edward the Confessor, was the property of its earliest known ancestor, Eduni (*sic*), whose son, Hamelin, was likewise the owner of 'Treloen,' after the Norman invasion, by a tenure from the Earl of Mortain, as found at the general survey.

We find, on the contrary, from the general survey, that the name of the English holder was 'Edwi' (i. e. Eadwig) and that Hamelin, who is coolly annexed as his son and as the Trelawnys' ancestor, was that great foreign tenant of Count Robert of Mortain who held of him over twenty manors and styled himself 'Hamelin of Cornwall' (*Hamelinus de Cornubia*). I am not sure if the family of Trevelyan ought to be dealt with in this section, in spite of the very definite assertion that "it was possessed antecedent to the Conquest" of Trevelyan, for no attempt is made to carry the pedigree back further than the days of James I. ¹

There was a time when one would have had to class among families with a definite pedigree extending beyond the Conquest the Kentish house of Dering. In the great *Baronetage* of Playfair that pedigree may still be read, and it has never been definitely abandoned even by 'Burke.' I here give the former and the present versions adopted by the latter :—

'Burke' (I).

This is one of those few ancient families, still existing in England that are of undoubted Saxon origin; an origin confirmed not

'Burke' (II).

(As opposite).

.....

¹ The family, of course, is far older than this.

only by tradition, but by documents. Wotton in his authentic family documents; *Baronetage* A.D. 1741 narrates that one of its remote ancestors

DIERING MILES

DIERING MILES

..... in 880..... To etc. (as opposite).
pass, however, to more recent progenitors, etc.

The intervening links are roughly supplied by Playfair, who records the pedigree thus :—

From this Diering Miles to the Norman invasion are reckoned seven generations, the last of which was called Dering filius Syredi, who was slain with King Harold at Battle in Sussex. He was father of Syred de Ferningham, who was the father of Leofget, who, upon the death of William, took up arms, with Odo bishop of Bayeux, in behalf of Duke Robert; but being overpowered, he retired with his family into Normandy; where he had two sons, viz; Normanus Dering, so called from the place (of) his birth (!) At the battle of Lincoln, where King Stephen was taken prisoner, this gentleman was slain near the King's person, in endeavouring to rescue his monarch; and in consequence of his being found after the battle with his shield covered with blood, his posterity were allowed to add to their paternal arms three torteauxes in chief, in memory of his loyalty and bravery.

At this point one gasps. The history is all so correct; the details of the Derings' deeds so exact. Even Playfair, however, here breaks off and observes that

Hasted, in his History of Kent, says, 'What authorities the family may have for many of the above circumstances I cannot learn; the only account I have been able to gather from the family papers and manuscripts in the Dering Library, and from other evidences, is etc.,

The only 'authorities,' in short, for this family history, are what 'Burke' ingenuously describes as "authentic family documents."

What we are really dealing with is a kind of historical novel, such as from the pen of Sir Walter Scott or of Sir Conan Doyle we should accept as avowed fiction, in which the events of English history are made a background for the doings of a race of warrior heroes.

The thing is done cleverly enough ; there is nothing, as Mr Freeman would have said, "impossible," either in the heroes' names or in the events recorded, save that an honourable augmentation to the Dering arms for valour at the Battle of Lincoln (1141) is, of course, a wild anachronism, and that men who bore the name of Norman were not so christened because they were born in Normandy. But the strange thing is that the man who concocted the story was not content with a 'Saxon' pedigree beginning in the 9th century, but wanted to make the family Norman too !¹ So he married the heiress of the 'Saxon' house, *temp.* Henry II, to a certain "Vitalis Fitz Osbert," a real man who really lived, in that reign, in Kent. Therefore, if the "family documents" really were "authentic," they would definitely prove that the family were of Norman, and *not* "of Saxon origin" !²

The early pedigree, however, though not definitely rejected, is discreetly shirked, nowadays, by 'Burke,' who begins the actual descent only with John Dering, who married the heiress of

¹ The case of the Wakes is somewhat similar.

² The whole concoction is dealt with further below and its probable author identified.

Surrenden (now Surrenden Dering) and died in 1425. I shall therefore deal with the Derings below in another class, in case one should not be thought justified in treating the pedigree from 'Saxon' times as still definitely upheld. But that it is still widely credited is evident from certain facts. For instance, when I was once explaining to a very high heraldic official how untrustworthy were most pedigrees that extended back to the eleventh century, he fell back on that of Dering: "Dering, at any rate, is all right?" And the paragraph which follows is taken from a serious and literary paper:—

Sir Henry Dering..... is the head of one of the half-dozen families who can base their claim to Saxon descent on indisputable historic documents. In his case one of these treasured records is 1024 years old.¹

Obviously this treasured record is that which 'Burke' now says that Wootton says, mentions a 'Diering miles' in 880. But where it is "treasured" we are not told. The point I here wish to make is that for a deed of 880 'Burke' now vouches as authority a *Baronetage* published in 1741. One does not see why its editor need have gone back so far; 'Burke's Peerage and Baronetage' for 1829 would have been equally valid as authority to vouch for the fact.

Awkward as it is to break the story of the Dering myth, I shall take it up again below on the ground that it really originated in that confusion of a surname with a Christian name which is so fertile a source of delusion and belongs therefore to the

¹ *Standard*, 16 Jan. 1906.

group of families imbued with that common delusion.

We have still to deal with one family propounding a definite pedigree which extends for some distance beyond the Conquest. This is the Lancashire house of Trafford, which, in early Victorian days, when such things were the fashion, and when 'modern Gothic' was the rage, was authorised to alter what 'Burke' imagines to be "the orthography" of its name by placing a 'De' before it. Now as then¹ its pedigree begins in this astounding fashion :—

The old and knightly family of Trafford, seated at Trafford, in the county palatine of Lancaster, from a period antecedent to the Norman Conquest, has preserved, from time immemorial, an unbroken male descent.

RANDOLPHUS DE TRAFFORD, who flourished 'ante Conquestum', as the family pedigree sets forth, was father of

RANDOLPHUS, of whom mention is made in two deeds to "Radulphus (*sic*) filius Radulphi" (*sic*), by which it appears that Radulphus (*sic*), the father, "was then dead, and had flourished in King CANUTE the Dane his time, about the year 1030, and perhaps died after, in St. Edward the Confessor his time, about the year 1050; hee had noe surname, as then few of our Saxon nobilitie or gentry had." From this Radulfus (*sic*) sprang the great house of TRAFFORD, which has since uninterruptedly held a most distinguished place amongst the first families of Lancashire. His son

ROBERT FILIUS RADULPHI was of full age at the time of the Conquest, and about A.D. 1080 he, with his father, received the King's peace and protection from Hugh² (*sic*)

¹ E.g. in *Burke's History of the Commoners* IV, 247.

² This is an instance of genealogical development in the 'Peerage'. For the Baron's real name was Hamon, as rightly given in the 'History of the Commoners'.

de Massy, Baron of Dunham Massy ; his son,

HENRICUS FILIUS ROBERTI, temp Henry I, d. about 1130, leaving a son,

HENRY DE TRAFFORD, of Trafford, co. Lancaster, whose name appears in several deeds during the reigns of Henry II and Richard I ; he *d.* after the year 1200, etc., etc.,

Before we criticise the pedigree here given let us grasp the fact that, for its earliest generations, its dates are absolutely consistent. If " Robert filius Radulfi " was of " full age at the time of the Conquest," he must have been born not later than 1045. His grandfather, therefore, allowing twenty-five years for a generation, would be born not later than 995, and would flourish, exactly as stated, " in King Canute his time." Let us further observe that the compiler must have been blissfully ignorant that " Randolphus " and " Radulfus " are not the same, but are the Latin forms of names so essentially distinct that they are now respectively represented by ' Randall ' and by ' Ralph.'

Glancing at those families which claimed pre-conquest ancestors, I observed in my *Quarterly Review* article, and afterwards in my *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (p. 65), that

As for " Randolphus de Trafford," who lived *ante conquestum*, as the family pedigree sets forth, we may leave him to the company of an impossible ' Eduni',¹ " the earliest known ancestor " of the Trelawnys etc. etc.

It was needless to investigate the Trafford pedigree, for it was obvious that three Traffords in succession, all alleged to be English thegns and

¹ Impossible, because there was no such name. ' Edwi ' seems to be meant. Cf. p. 52 above.

all receiving foreign names, must be an absurd anachronism.

After my book was in type an article appeared which led me to add to the preface this footnote.

Even as this preface goes to press the *World* (17 Oct. 1900), in an article on " Sir Humphrey de Trafford at Home," asserts that " Randolph, Lord of Trafford, was the patriarch of the family, which for nearly nine centuries after him has produced an uninterrupted line of heirs male. The first recorded Trafford lived in the reigns of King Canute and Edward the Confessor, being succeeded by his son Ralph," etc. This grotesquely impossible tale is duly found in *Burke's Peerage*, although it is shattered by Domesday Book.

A glance, indeed, at Domesday Book is enough to show that Randolph was not a native name, and that the names assigned to the three alleged thegns are " grotesquely impossible " in days before the Conquest.

I have been reluctantly compelled to repeat myself to this extent, because in 1904 Mr W.H.B. Bird came forward with an article in *The Ancestor* to reinstate the pedigree. After citing from Harl. MS. 2077 the pedigree from " King Kanutus his time," which is in effect reproduced in ' Burke's Peerage,' he proceeded thus :—

Needless to say, in an age of criticism, a pedigree like this has not gone unchallenged. Mr. Shirley shook his head over what he found in Baines and assumed that the antiquity of the family was exaggerated.....

It is a more serious matter when Mr. Round comes forward to denounce our pedigree as ' a grotesquely impossible tale,' etc. etc.¹

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 9., p. 68.

And, eventually, after reciting the substance of seven charters, he summed up confidently as follows :—

In the light of this evidence I do not think the most impatient critic will any longer deny the existence of the impossible Randolph, or refuse assent to the following pedigree, with which, be it observed, Randle Holme,¹ when stripped of his exuberances, will be found to agree.²

In Mr. Bird's subsequent paper (*Ancestor*, No. 12, p. 42) he scoffed at the "amazement of Mr. Round upon finding that a pedigree, which he had denounced at sight in no measured terms, could after all be proved step by step, with one doubtful exception." It has been shown above that what I denounced was the pedigree from "King Canute his time" with its 'grotesquely impossible tale' of three pre-Conquest Traffords with foreign names.

Before we proceed further, I desire to ask the reader what he imagines, from this, Mr. Bird has claimed to prove. Surely it can only be that Mr. Shirley's doubts were groundless; that the antiquity of the family is not exaggerated; and that the "impatient critic" by whom these lines are written was wrong in rejecting as impossible, without further investigation, three generations of English thegns, all of them bearing foreign names, before the Norman Conquest. He must mean that, or he means nothing.

What then was my surprise, indeed my "blank amazement," to discover that, in spite of his

¹ To whom Mr. Bird assigns Harl. MS. 2077, on which the pedigree 'in Burke' is based.

² *Ibid.* p. 71.

annoyance at my " impatient " criticism, Mr. Bird did not venture to meet it, but abandoned altogether that pre-Conquest pedigree which Randle Holme set forth ! It is not, observe, a question of " exuberances. " There is nothing exuberant in Randle's statements ; carefully and quite consistently,¹ he builds up, step by step, a pedigree tracing back the Traffords to " King Canuty his time. " ² Mr. Bird, so far as it is possible to follow the working of his mind, appears to consider that all he has to do is to prove the " existence " of Randolph, the " patriarch " ³ of the house. Whether he existed under King Canute or flourished in the days of King Stephen he seems to consider a mere detail of relatively small consequence. To the ordinary mind it would seem, surely, to be precisely the question at issue.

It was the special wonder, the unique glory of the pedigree that it extended back, in the male line, to the days of King Canute. Mr. Bird, we shall find, admits, of Randle's basic document, that he placed it very nearly a century too early. That is all. And with that admission there departs the whole wonder of the pedigree. Consequently, Humpty Dumpty lies prone upon the ground : Mr. Bird has not succeeded in setting him back upon the wall.

Let me prove my statement. The genesis of the Trafford pedigree is quite simple to explain. We start with a descent in the male line proved,

¹ See p. 57 above.

² We have to thank Mr. Croston for printing it in his *History of Stretford Chapel* (Chetham Society) III, 101-103. I have only recently seen this book and learnt from it that Mr. Bird had worked specially on the pedigree.

³ See p. 58 above.

it is claimed, by record evidence up to Henry de Trafford who succeeded in 1205. Whom he succeeded we are not told; but a striking *catena* of charters shows us a Henry son of Robert son of Ralph de Trafford, which last Ralph, in a single charter, appears as the son of Randolph. This single charter, which I termed above "Randle's basic document," formed the starting-point of his pedigree. Of this charter Mr. Bird writes:—

For No. 1. as he (Randle) understood it, the conquest seemed an appropriate epoch: date of the Conquest, of course, 1066.¹

In his own opinion, however, we shall not be far wrong if we set down... the date of the first charter we have as certainly later than 1130, and most probably belonging to the third quarter of that century² [1150-1175].

That is to say that Randle's pedigree, which is virtually repeated in 'Burke,' begins just about a century too soon. It is out of Mr. Bird's own mouth that my case is proved.

The Trafford pedigree, it will thus be observed, is precisely similar in its genesis to that of Stanley. In both cases it is based on a quite genuine charter; but in both the pedigree-maker, to exalt the antiquity of the family, has assigned to the document a far too early date. The result has been in both cases to place in the days of the Norman Conquest an ancestor who lived in the second half of the 12th century (*i.e.* Robert and Liulf.) In neither case is there any need to call his existence in

¹ *Ancestor* No. 9, p. 72.

² *Ibid.* p. 74.

question : we merely charge the pedigree-maker, in the 17th century, with making him live absurdly early in order to extend the antiquity of the line.

The result, however, in the Trafford case was, apart from absurd anachronisms, to leave a ghastly hiatus between the Robert who had reached "man's estate" at the Conquest (1066) and his son Henry who first appears in 1205 ! The compiler might stretch and struggle ; but he could not make his ends meet. And the fearful grief to which he came needs no demonstration from me. For Mr. Bird himself has assigned to the outside limits " 1180 and 1220 ;" ¹ four charters granted to " Henry son of Robert son of Ralph de Trafford," whom the compiler shows us as :—

" Henry sonne of Robert sonne of Rafe de Trafford soe stiled in all deeds ; he lived in K[ing] H[enry] I tyme about 1130 and died perhaps not before K. Stephen's tyme a° 1150. ²

As the only Henry known to records did not even *succeed* till 1205, the compiler's plight was hopeless. Mr. Bird, indeed, does his best for him, pleading that—

Subsequent generations, no doubt, had to be spread out rather in order to make all shipshape ; but no matter. It was a good way on to the point where his materials permitted or required exact chronology. These Traffords were stout, long lived men, no doubt ; they could afford to pick and choose, and were in no hurry to sow their wild oats and marry. With Henry, whose death it places in 1200, the pedigree is only twenty years out. ³

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 9. p. 74.

² *History of Stretford Chapel* (Chetham Society) III, 102.

³ *Ancestor* IX, 72. I am obliged to quote the passage in full that I may not be charged with misrepresentation.

This, we have seen, gives but a very imperfect idea of how far the pedigree is "out." To such straits was its compiler driven that, in order to bridge the gap, *he had to interpolate a second Henry*, though there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest that there were more than one.¹ Yet, although for this *second Henry* he allowed some half century of possession, he could not reach, even so, the point at which the real Henry even *began* his possession ! He could not bridge so vast a gap.

One is reminded of the process by which was evolved that pedigree of Lord Fitzwilliam which still obstinately figures in 'Burke's Peerage.' A sealed deed is there similarly dated a century too early—1117 instead of 1217, and the true ancestor, who lived in the days of Henry II, is made into a Norman of the Conquest by changing his name to William Fitz-William and then "providing him with a father, a grandfather, and a great-grandfather, each of them named Sir William Fitz-William, and all of them alike fictitious."²

Let us take yet another instance. Lord Ancaster, of course, in the male line belongs only to the modern and citizen house of Heathcote, but the opening portion of his pedigree in 'Burke' may be cited here as an excellent illustration of that reckless chronology to which are due genealogical absurdities.

The lordship of Eresby was settled by William the Conqueror, with other manors, upon Walter de Bec, one of his companions in arms, who *m.* Agnes dau. and

¹ See his pedigree in *History of Stretford Chapel* III, 103, and compare the 'Burke' pedigree which I gave at the outset.

² See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 48-9.

heiress of Hugh son of Pinco, Lord of Tatteshall in the co. of Lincoln.

Here is a companion of the Conqueror marrying the daughter of a man whose name (as well as that of his father) proves that he cannot have been pre-Conquest lord of Tattershall. Moreover, the grandson of this marriage—

Walter Beke *m.* Eva, niece and heiress of Walter de Grey, archbishop of York [1216-1255].

The incoherence of such genealogy is manifest. Tattershall, as a matter of fact, was held, under the Conqueror, neither by Walter nor by Hugh, and it is easy to discover Hugh "filius Pinconis" living, not at or before the period of the Norman Conquest, but a whole century later, as a knightly tenant of the bishop of Durham.¹

Here then we have, as in the case of Stanley, and even more in the case of Trafford, a man living under Henry II, thrown back to an early date to the utter confusion of the pedigree.

The really strange thing is that Mr. Bird, who was so indignant at my rejecting the accepted Trafford pedigree, had himself assailed, in the same publication, under the heading 'The Grosvenor myth,' the old pedigree of the Grosvenors;² for the Trafford case is the worst of the two.

The Grosvenors claim, as is well known, descent from a Gilbert le Grosvenor, nephew of Hugh 'Lupus,' earl of Chester, who came over with the Conqueror : but the Traffords, as we have seen,

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 416, 417.

² *Ancestor*, No. I, pp. 166-188.

advance a bolder claim and place their "patriarch" in the distant days of Canute. Yet in both cases, according to Mr. Bird, the earliest document relating to the family is of the third quarter of the twelfth century.¹ And he ingeniously suggested that from this charter, a grant from an earl of Chester to a Grosvenor, there might have originated the story of a connexion, a century earlier, between the earl of Chester and a Grosvenor. But there was more than a story : a detailed pedigree from the Conquest ' Gilbert ' was put forward in 1385-1390, and, as Mr. Bird justly observes, "when it comes to a detailed pedigree, the difference of a century or so should involve chronological difficulties."² That is precisely what it did in the Trafford case, and the two Henrys represent the compiler's clumsy attempt to overcome it.

The question whether there were two Henrys (de Trafford) or only one was left by Mr. Bird, in his first article, perfectly open ; he preferred "to offer no opinion."³ In his second he still declined to commit himself to the existence of a second Henry, though guarding himself by styling it "doubtful" whether he did not exist,⁴ but he rebuked me at great length for "casting an imputation upon the maker of our pedigree."⁵ His elaborate indignation is beside the mark. Accord-

¹ To be quite exact, Mr. Bird dates the Grosvenor charter 1153-1181, and observes, accordingly, that "the earliest Grosvenor in history lived about a century later than the Conquest" (*Ibid.*, p. 178). This, as I have said, is the period from which so many of our oldest houses must begin their pedigrees.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³ *Ancestor*, No. 9, p. 74.

⁴ *Ancestor*, No. 12, p. 42 where he claims that there is only "one doubtful exception" to the old pedigree's accuracy (see p. 59 above).

⁵ *Ancestor*, No. 12, p. 75.

ding to himself the known Henry was in possession of Old Trafford from 1205 to 1221 ; the compiler gives us in his place two Henrys, of whom the first died not later than 1150, and the second not later than 1200. Is it not proved, on Mr. Bird's showing, that the compiler was indulging in mere guesswork ? And yet this reckless guesswork is absolutely the sole foundation for the existence of a second Henry ! For us there is no gap to fill, and no need, therefore, for a second Henry : for the compiler of the pedigree it was a sheer necessity to hurl that Henry, like Quintus Curtius, into that fatal gap which was of his own making. Mr. Bird may affect indignation at my view, but the facts speak for themselves.

The only excuse the compiler could offer for thus dimidiating Henry was that he is sometimes styled Henry son of Robert son of Ralf de Trafford, and sometimes Henry de Trafford. So he made the latter his second Henry.¹ But we are coming to two parallel lists, on the Pipe Rolls of 1202 and 1204, in which the tenant in thanage of Pendlebury (who granted a charter to Henry) is entered. In the first he appears as " Elya de Pinnelberia,"² and in the second as " Elya filio Roberti ;"³ yet no one dreams of suggesting that the two men were different.

But can we go further still and find actual mention of Robert son of Ralf immediately before Henry de Trafford succeeds in 1205 ? If so, there is an end of the question ; it can no longer be

¹ *History of Stretford Chapel* III, 102-4.

² Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p, 153.

³ *Ibid*, p. 179.

disputed that " Henry de Trafford " is identical with " Henry son of Robert son of Ralf de Trafford." There is such mention on the Pipe Roll of 1204, as there also is on that of 1202 ; but Mr. Bird thus dismisses it in a footnote :—

In 4 and 6 John a Robert son of Ralph owed arrears of scutage (Farrer, *Lanc. Pipe Rolls* 153, 159, 179.) No surname or locality is attached to him, and Mr. Farrer has not attempted to identify him with Trafford or any other family. So far as we know the Traffords held nothing at this time by knight service ; and *one would not expect to find a tenant in thanage under the heading 'de finibus militum.'*¹

Now on turning to the first reference given, p. 153 of Mr. Farrer's book, we find a long list of names (pp. 152-153) of which the three first—and they alone—are entered as tenants by knight-service. Next come—" Et de ij m. de Henrico de Rademan *pro theinagio*. Et de ij m. de Adam decano *pro eodem*.... Et de ij m. de Gileberto de Croft *pro theinagio*." And lower down comes the entry " Et de ij m. de Robert filio Radulfi " (which are *not* entered as "arrears of scutage").

We see then that whatever Mr. Bird might " expect to find " in the record, we *do* find in it tenants in thanage (to say nothing of tenants by serjeanty) ; in other words (to quote a phrase of Mr. Freeman's) Mr. Bird in assuming that these records are concerned only with " knight service, " cannot have read them "with common care." His blunder is the more inexplicable because, on turning to the next reference he gives (p. 159), we find

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 9, p. 74. The Italics are mine.

Mr. Farrer, on that page, identifying no fewer than eleven names on the list as those of tenants "in thanage"! In the list on p. 179 (the next reference) one would have imagined that Mr. Bird could have recognised, without assistance, the two names which immediately precede that of Robert son of Ralf as those of tenants in thanage, namely Gilbert de Norton and Elyas son of Robert (of Pendlebury), who actually granted a charter to "Henry son of Robert son of Ralf de Trafford."¹ In the list on pp. 152-3, the name of Robert son of Ralf is, we have seen, preceded by those of tenants in thanage who are so entered, as well (we find) as by others who were not, such as Roger de Middleton, who is entered immediately before him. It is also immediately followed by those of three tenants in thanage, Richard son of Robert,² the lord of Lathom, Henry de Melling and Adam de Garston, who were all similarly tenants in thanage, though not so entered.

In short, Robert son of Ralf occurs in both these lists in common with a number of tenants in thanage, and the objection raised by Mr. Bird collapses. We find the father of Henry de Trafford precisely where we should expect to find him, in the midst of his fellow-tenants in thanage. The statement that he owed "arrears of scutage" is not to be found in either roll.

Should Mr. Bird prove obdurate and contend that Robert son of Ralf (1202 and 1204) was not Robert son of Ralf de Trafford, we have but to

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 9, p. 71.

² As Mr. Bird observes of Robert son of Ralf, "no surname or locality is attached to him."

turn to a third list, on the roll of 1226, which has several names in common with those of 1202 and 1204.¹ I will here place side by side the entries of those names.

1202, 1204.

Henry de Melling
Henry de Walton
William de Radcliffe.
Roger de Middleton
Robert de Prestwich.
Alexander de Pilkington
Gospatric de Chorlton
Robert son of Ralph

Ranulph son of Roger.
Peter de Brindle
Henry de Holland
Elias de Hutton
Gilbert de Croft
Adam son of Osbert
Walter de Parles²

1226.

Henry de Melling.
Henry de Walton.
William de Radcliffe.
Roger de Middleton.
Robert de Prestwich.
Alexander de Pilkington
Gospatric de Chorlton
"Robert son of Ralph
de Trafford"

Ranulph son of Roger
Peter de Brindle.
Henry de Holland.
Elias de Hutton
Gilbert de Croft.
Adam son of Osbert.
Walter de Parles.³

"In the light of this evidence I do not think the most" reluctant "critic will any longer deny" the identity of the Robert son of Ralph living in 1202 and 1204,⁴ or the statement that he was father of Henry de Trafford who succeeded in 1205. I am glad to find that Mr. Farrer himself, though that identity seems to have escaped him, appears to have independently concluded that there was but

¹ Mr. Farrer has warned us that, though the list is on the roll of 1226, "some entries belong to the time of Henry II and Richard I, the rest to that of John" (*Lancashire Fines* [1899], p. 153, note).

² These names occur in one or both of the two lists. The place-names are given in their modern forms.

³ These names are given in the same order as in Mr. Farrer's list (*Lancashire Inquests*, I, 136-141).

⁴ This was the Robert who, according to the *Landed Gentry*, was "of full age at the time of the Conquest."

one Henry.¹ By establishing, myself, the above identity I may claim to have solved what Mr. Bird—after “a most thorough examination of the Trafford pedigree (especially the earlier portions, which are the most doubtful)”²—declared to be “the one serious difficulty in the history of the Traffords,” and one on which he preferred “to offer no opinion.”³

Paulo majora canamus. Leaving Mr. Bird bewildered by the sight of well-known tenants in thanage where he would not “expect to find” them, let us grip this Trafford pedigree and settle it once for all. Henry son of Robert son of Ralf de Trafford succeeds in 1205 and dies in or shortly before 1221. Allowing for each generation five and twenty years, his grandfather would have succeeded about 1155. Let us even be liberal and make it 1150; it is common ground that in these matters one can only strike an average. This grandfather, “Ralf son of Randolph,” is mentioned in a single charter, the earliest known document relating to the family. There is nothing in the

¹ *Lancashire Fines*, I, 153. Mr. Croston writes, somewhat strangely:—“Mr. W. Farrer, in his book on the Lancashire Entries on the Pipe and Fine Rolls (pp. 170, 210), discards the steps Nos. 2, 4, and 7, and compresses the first seven steps into four, thus: 1, Ralph; 2, Robert, died *c.* 1205; 3, Henry died 1221; 4, Richard, died 1278. This would obviously carry us no further back than 1150 at earliest. I have, however, for literary (!) reasons, adhered to the form of pedigree adopted by the family and favoured by Mr. Bird” etc. (*History of Stretford Chapel*, III, 99, note). Neither the statement nor the title assigned to Mr. Farrer's book is quite accurate. Mr. Farrer “discards” a second Henry between Robert and Richard, but that is the only change he makes in the pedigree down to 1221, the period with which we are dealing. With Ralf's father he is not concerned.

I do not understand what is meant by “literary reasons” for a pedigree, but we may gather (pp. 96, note 2, and 97), that Mr. Croston looked with some suspicion on the earliest stages in that of Trafford.

² *History of Stretford Chapel*, III, 99.

³ *Ancestor*, No. 9, p. 74.

charter to show that he was then lord of Trafford ; but, even if he was, the pedigree, we see, begins only somewhere about the middle of the 12th century. Here we have again the true starting point of almost our oldest pedigrees, pedigrees of families which, not content with this exceptional antiquity, persist in tracing their descent from the Conquest or even from ' Saxon ' times. With these the Traffords also must henceforth fall into line.

Of any claim to an earlier pedigree there is, we have seen, an end. But I do not wish to suppress anything that Mr. Bird has urged in support of his efforts to claim a more remote origin for the house. He began by somewhat vaguely asserting that "The antiquity of this family is, in Lancashire, an article of faith."¹ No one would deny that the Traffords are among our ancient houses. But is it "an article of faith" that they were seated at Old Trafford before the Norman Conquest? That is the question. Even if it were, it is more notoriously "an article of faith" in Devon that "Crocker, Cruwys and Coplestone" were "all at home" when the Conqueror came, a belief of which Mr. Freeman made singularly short work.² It is also, we shall find, in Hampshire "an article of faith" that the Tichbornes were seated at Tichborne long before the Conquest, while in Kent and Sussex respectively there seems to be a firm belief in the pre-Conquest antiquity of the families of Dering and of Scrase.

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 9, p. 66.

² In his article on "Pedigrees and Pedigree-makers," where he pointed out that the Coplestone story had already been exposed by a local antiquary.

But in Lancashire we cannot trace, it seems, the existence of the pre-Conquest idea till "a quaint local poet of the Elizabethan age" enigmatically wrote :—

A triple foorded river shall direct thy ready way,
Where thou shall find Antiquitie, the maker of the place,
Whose name hath bene Tyme out Mynde, before the
Conquest was.

But another "complimentary"¹ bard had written, even earlier,² in honour of the Stauntons of Staunton :—

The first Sir Mauger Staunton, Knight,
Before Williame came in,
Who this realme into one monarche,
Did conquer it and winne.³

which seems to be the only evidence for the ' Saxon ' origin of the Stauntons. It is the great advantage of dealing with the subject in a paper such as this, that one can set the Trafford claim in its right place among others, and see how the so-called "tradition" of a tenure older than the Conquest arose, almost as a matter of course, among these ancient houses, when men began to prize pre-Conquest tenure as a distinction.

The constant appeal to "tradition" in cases such as this compels one to insist upon the fact that it is absolutely worthless as evidence for facts of that remote period. It is to "tradition" that we are confidently referred for the history, at the Conquest period, of the Stourtons, of the Derings, of the

¹ The adjective is Mr. Bird's.

² To judge from his style.

³ See below.

Bulstrodes : " tradition," we shall see, has even been invoked for the *status* in Saxon times of a family so modern as the Whatmans. Writing of the Traffords' " tradition of Saxon origin "—which they share with so many families—Mr. Bird speaks of my " prejudice against tradition as such " as " not quite in harmony with the scientific spirit," and claims that " there is a region, lying just beyond the frontier of recorded fact, which may be wholly barren for the student of the past if he be forbidden to use tradition for a guide, even where there is no other,"¹ that is to say, we are to use " tradition," not because it is likely to be true, but because a remote period might be " wholly barren " without it. Happily, it is Mr. Bird himself who, in " the Grosvenor myth," has demolished a pedigree resting on a really venerable tradition, a tradition in full existence more than five centuries ago. He there writes himself in the true " scientific spirit."—

but the first question is, what evidence did Grosvenor produce in its favour. The answer is simple. For the tradition there is evidence enough and to spare ; for the truth of it, none the tradition was actually current at the time of the trial I leave the abbot's pedigree for the present. We have seen that it rested simply on tradition : we have found that all the evidence is against it.²

In other words, when we come to test a " tradition " of no late growth, but of really venerable antiquity, we find, on his own showing, that it breaks down. The light which " tradition " affords in the " wholly barren " tract is that of an *ignis fatuus*.

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 12, pp. 47-8.

² *Ancestor*, No. 1, pp. 174, 176, 178.

I venture, in conclusion, to repeat what I wrote in the *Ancestor*, as finally disposing of any presumption in favour of the Trafford claim to a pre-Conquest tenure of Old Trafford.

Mr. Bird, it is true, urges that the Lancashire belief in the exceptional antiquity of the Traffords must be old because 'a quaint local poet' of the Elizabethan age, in *A Golden Mirror*, supports it in his "acrostic verses of a complimentary character upon the names of knights and gentlemen of that country" adding

"Now there were many old families then in Lancashire—Ashtons, Pilkingtons, and Worsleys, Standish, Molyneux and even Stanley. But it is only when Sir Edmund Trafford's name is the subject of his vision that our poet chooses Time for his interlocutor."

One verifies the reference and discovers, first, that the 'acrostic verses' relate, not to Lancashire, but almost exclusively to Cheshire, and then (not without some surprise) that of the six houses named by Mr. Bird, Stanley *alone* is dealt with by the author, and that as Strange, not as Stanley. I venture to submit, therefore, that it is somewhat misleading to put the case as Mr. Bird puts it.¹

But, it may be urged, there is the 'thanage' argument; is there not something in that? Absolutely nothing whatever. Mr. Bird appears to have confused the holding of land 'in thanage' with descent in blood, from a 'thane'. The fact that holdings by thanage are found in the survey, *temp.* John, of Salford Hundred, does not, I assert, "suggest that many or all of 'the English thanes' had been left undisturbed." At Pendlebury, for instance, a carucate was held 'in thanage' because it had been so granted by John when Count of Mortain

¹ My point is that there is no such contrast as Mr. Bird's words imply between the poet's treatment of the Traffords and of the other families named by Mr. Bird. He has since admitted that this was "a piece of carelessness" on his part (*Ancestor*, No. 12, p. 42).

("to hold of us and our heirs.... in free thanage by the free service of ten shillings yearly"—Farrer's *Lancashire Inquests* p. 69); and Little Bolton in Pendleton (opposite Trafford Park) was held by the Boltons 'in thanage' because it had been so granted to William son of Adam by John when Count of Mortain (*Ibid*, p. 71): therefore the holding of land 'in thanage' is no proof that it had not been acquired by a recent grant, though the absence of enrolment in the twelfth century makes it impossible, as a rule, to prove the fact of that grant.

If then 'tradition' and tenure in thanage are alike of no avail to prove that the Traffords held at Trafford before the Conquest, what remains? There remains nothing.¹

Having now disposed of those cases in which claim is made to a definite pedigree beginning, in England, before the Conquest, I turn to those in which 'Saxon' descent is more or less vaguely asserted. By this assertion, as we said at the outset, it is obviously meant, not that, in common with the mass of our people, the house belonged to the

¹ *Ancestor*, No. 12, p. 79. The story connected with the Trafford crest has been more appropriately dealt with in the paper "Tales of the Conquest."

As I am anxious not to press any argument unduly, I relegate to this footnote such inference as can in my opinion be drawn from the Traffords' names, though it does not, to say the least, afford any support to the theory of their native origin. "The only clue for our guidance is that of the Christian names borne by their earliest ancestors; and these we have seen are distinctively foreign. This appears to me to form a very strong presumption that they were not of English origin. Take the case of their neighbour, Roger son of William, who held 'in thanage' Reddish in Manchester; his ancestor was Orm, the son of Ailward 'living in the time of Henry I', founder of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Ireleth. Or again, take the Singletons of Singleton, descended from Huck of Singleton, whose sons Uchtred and Siward were living under Henry II, and apparently under Richard I. Lastly, take the Traffords' neighbour, Gospatric, lord of Chorlton, living in the days of John. One could easily adduce other instances of the retention of native names by men of native origin for some time after the Conquest. Had the Traffords been of English origin, it is most improbable that they would have adopted so early as the eleventh century so foreign a name as Ranulf, in view of the slowness with which such names were adopted in the north of England". (*Ancestor*, No. 10, p. 80). The Ashtons of Ashton (under Lyne) were, for instance, descended from Orm de Ashton (living 1200-1202), whose name proclaims him as of native stock.

conquered race, but that it held its lands, or at least its social position, even before the Conquest.

Mr. Freeman, who was only writing for a Review, could hardly be expected to investigate each case on its merits. To do so requires in most of these cases a separate, often a lengthy, enquiry involving (*experto crede*) no small amount of time and labour. And yet, without that detailed enquiry, it is not possible to treat the subject with the thoroughness for which it calls. He was forced to leave a loophole for "quite exceptional" pedigrees, which enables every claimant who escaped his swashing blows to allege that his own is one of them. The claims he pilloried are dropped; but others must share their fate.

That his task was incomplete is evident from his own words:

When a pedigree goes back to the eleventh century, or to the early part of the twelfth, things are altogether changed. Some pedigrees which go back to that time are undoubtedly true, some, whether true or false, are at least not palpably false; *they could not be refuted by the general historian who does not specially give himself to genealogical or local study.*¹ But these certain and probable pedigrees are quite exceptional. The mass of pedigrees which go back to those times are, by the man who knows those times, at once cast aside as false on the face of them. They need no examination; their very statement shows that they are impossible.²

That is the point that we have to remember.

¹ The italics are mine.

² *Cont. Rev.* XXX, 14. This is the answer to Mr. Bird's criticism on my speaking of the "grotesquely impossible tale" of pre-Conquest Traffords of Trafford in 'Burke's Peerage.' He complains of my "Jedburgh justice—condemnation first and evidence afterwards." I happen to be a "man who knows those times."

There are tales such as those the peerage-books tell, or told, of the Ashburnhams, the Berties, Lord Derby's Norman ancestor, or the pre-Conquest Traffords that we can reject at once as involving either obvious anachronisms or absurdities of geography or nomenclature. On the other hand there are claims in which there is nothing inherently impossible, but the evidence for which must be examined before they can secure acceptance. As Mr. Freeman elsewhere put it ;

The family may really be descended from persons who did hold lands, perhaps even the same lands, before the Conquest. There is nothing impossible, nothing absurd in the claim itself ; only it is a claim which must always be very hard to make out.¹ And in the shape in which the claim is commonly put it is absurd and impossible.

That " shape " is to " represent a family, as such, *with a hereditary surname*,² as holding lands before the Norman Conquest." Mr. Freeman made, accordingly, short work of the Tollemaches, who had " flourished with the greatest honour, in the co. of Suffolk, since the first arrival of the Saxons in England, a period of more than thirteen centuries." He similarly dismissed the claim of the Berties to have " first landed in England in company of the Saxons ; " but he seems to have been unaware that of the

Wardlaws, Cardinal Wardlaw compiled a genealogical account, from their first coming from Saxony into England about the beginning of the sixth century, up to his own time ; a copy of which was in the royal library

¹ *Ibid*, p. 21.

² The italics are mine.

of France until the Revolution ; and according to family tradition, the elder branch of the house, the Wardlaws of Torrie, had also a copy, which was carried down to his own time, the close of the fifteenth century, by Sir Henry Wardlaw.

Cardinal Wardlaw lived early for a genealogical writer ; he is said to have held that honour from 1361 to 1387. Perhaps, however, his effort was posthumous, as must have been that of Sir Henry Wardlaw, " the genealogist of the family," who died, the pedigree informs us, before 1421, but brought the family history " down to his own time, the close of the fifteenth century." All this is still to be read in the account, in ' Burke's Peerage ' of " this Anglo-Saxon family."

Let us keep, however, to the point that a mere vague assertion is of no value whatever. To quote again from Mr. Freeman :—

Such a claim is in no way absurd in itself ; the story is perfectly possible ; we only ask for the proof. Show us the proof ; make out every step by authentic documents ; then we will believe. Without such a proof we will not believe.¹

Even as I write, there comes to hand an excellent instance in point. From the *Daily Mail* I take the statement ;—

Lord Clanmorris traces his descent back to the Saxons, the original seat of the family being at Sutton Bingham in Somerset.²

It is only a week since one read of the other ennobled branch in that fruitful ' personal and social ' column :—

¹ *Cont. Rev.* XXX, 22.

² *Daily Mail*, 22. Dec. 1908.

Lord Bingham, son and heir of Lord Lucan, etc... the Binghams are of old Saxon stock, and were originally seated at Sutton Bingham, Somerset. Sir John Bingham was knighted by Henry I.¹

This extremely definite information is derived from ' Burke,' where the pedigree of Lord Lucan, the head of the Irish Binghams, formerly began, and now begins, as follows :—

Old Version.

The family of Bingham is of Saxon origin and of very great antiquity. It was originally seated at Sutton Bingham, in the county of Somerset ; from whence it removed, during the reign of William the Conqueror, to Bingham's Melcomb, in the county of Dorset, where a branch of the family continues still to reside.

John de Bingham received the honour of knighthood in the reign of Henry the First ; and from him descended lineally :—

Now this is one of those delightful cases in which nothing more is needed than to turn from ' Burke's Peerage ' to ' Burke's Landed Gentry.' In the latter work we read of the parent stock, the ancient house of Bingham of Melcomb Bingham, that—

the family of Bingham, *possibly of Norman origin,*² was originally seated at Sutton Bingham, Somerset.

New Version.

The family of Bingham, of Saxon origin, was originally seated at Sutton Bingham, Somerset. John de Bingham, Knt. *temp.* Henry I. was direct ancestor of—.....

¹ *Evening Standard & St. James Gazette*, 14. Dec. 1908.

² The italics are mine.

Could we have a better instance of that "vague assertion" which is really sheer guesswork, than this description of a family, in one place, as "of Saxon origin," and in another as "possibly of Norman origin" ?

And the reason for this uncertainty is quite simple ; it is that the Binghams cannot be traced further back, it appears, than the 13th century. It can only, therefore, be sheer guesswork to describe them either as 'Saxon' or as 'Norman.' One does not look for hypercriticism in the normal county history when dealing with an extant county family, but Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, a very valuable work, is candid enough in its treatment of the question. The Bingham pedigree, we there discover, is one of a familiar class, being "set forth and signed by Robert Cook Esq. Clarenceux, A.D. 1580."¹ But even that great parent of pedigrees and rascally King-of-Arms did not attempt to take it back to Saxon times. He began with an alleged Sir John Bingham in the days of Henry I. Hutchins, however, is not prepared to accept so much as this. He points out that "The earlier names in it [the pedigree] have certainly an apocryphal air and are not corroborated by any evidence." The earliest mention he could find in records was of the year 1245, which tallies with the fact that Robert de Bingham, from a brother of whom descent is claimed, was bishop of Salisbury from 1229 to 1246. For it may be to this prelate that is due the original settlement of the family in the south-west of England. Bingham

¹ *Op. cit.* IV, 374.

itself is in Notts, and a churchman there born would, after the fashion of his class, take his name therefrom. In Bingham's Worth, Bingham's Melcomb, and Sutton Bingham, this house has stamped its name upon the map of England. But although the fact testifies to its antiquity, as houses go, we have seen that its 'Saxon' origin is a guess, and its status at the Conquest a myth.

Let us take some other ennobled families whose claims are similarly vague. Of the Pelhams, earls of Chichester (and of Yarborough) we read—

The surname of Pelham was assumed from a lordship in Hertfordshire.... This lordship of Pelham is recorded to be part of the possessions of Walter de Pelham in the 21st of Edward the First, and it is believed that his ancestors held it prior to the Conquest.

On what ground is this believed, when no attempt is here made to carry back this ancient house to within even two centuries of the Norman Conquest? So also with the Wingfields (Viscounts Powerscourt) of whose origin this version was formerly found in 'Burke'—

The surname of Wingfield borne by this noble family is derived from the manor of Wingfield, in the county of Suffolk, where they had a residence before the Conquest, denominated Wingfield Castle.¹

Now, indeed, we only read that this family "is stated to have been seated at Wingfield, co. Suffolk, before the Conquest". Why so stated we are not told. After citing Garter Anstis to the effect that "it may be doubted whether it (Wingfield)

¹ This claim is dealt with and shown to be baseless by the editor in *The Ancestor*, No. 8, pp. 210-1.

was the seat of this family before the time of Sir John Wingfield, since the patronage and advowson of that place was in Sir Richard Brews, in 1302, 1323, and 1329," the 'Landed Gentry' inconsequently adds that "there are pedigrees of the Wingfields which give them possession of the Castle of Wingfield in the time of William the Conqueror." Again, the family of Stonor of Stonor (now Lord Camoys) "is stated to have been in possession thereof before the Conquest," according to 'Burke's Peerage.' Yet there seems to be no pedigree further back than the days of Henry III,¹ and even this date is untrustworthy.

With the famous case of the Stourtons of Stourton I need not again deal in detail, having already done so.² I then showed that, after Mr. Freeman had smashed their alleged ancestor at the Conquest and had shown him to be purely fictitious, he was banished for a time from 'Burke's Peerage,' where the pedigree thenceforth began only in the 14th century. But in 1900 this Botolph was boldly re-introduced, as the direct ancestor of his namesake, Lord Mowbray Segrave and Stourton. And there he continues to flourish and to marry, "according to the ancient pedigrees, Anne, dau. of Earl Godwin, sister of King Harold II." This is an outrage on English history; but what is history compared with a pedigree "ratified and confirmed under the Seal of the College of Arms," 1721, in which, as I showed, this marriage was duly affirmed.

¹ cf. Burke's *History of the Commoners*, II, 440. The real founder of the family appears to have been Sir John de Stonore, chief justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1354, after acquiring large estates.

² *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 50-61.

Domesday affords proof positive that Stourton changed hands at the Conquest, so that the tale of the Stourtons having held it before as after that event is known to be false. In the great family history, however, which appeared some nine years ago, a pedigree and a tenure of Stourton extending far beyond the Conquest was claimed without hesitation. Even under Alfred deeds of valour were performed by an earlier Botolph, lord of Stourton,—for all of which 'tradition' is deemed sufficient authority. Let me here again insist on the absolutely worthless character of such 'tradition' as this, which anyone can vouch for anything he likes. And let me also observe, at the risk of wearying the reader, that, as in the case of so many families, the first Stourton on record is he who appears in the great returns of knights (1166)¹ no less than a century after the Norman Conquest.

Of the Wallops (Earls of Portsmouth) we still read that "this ancient family was seated at Wallop, in the county of Hants, at a period antecedent to the Conquest," ('Burke's Peerage'), though nothing has been discovered about them before the reign of King John.² The Chetwodes of Chetwode (Baronets) are a house of exceptional antiquity, of which 'Burke' at one time stated that "some (accounts) trace it antecedently to the Conquest." We have now the more confident assertion that "all authorities" do so, though Domesday proves that Chetwode was lost, at the Conquest, by its

¹ *Ibid*, p. 60.

² The early Wallop pedigree has not yet been satisfactorily worked out, but the existing family is said to have married the heiress of the Wallops, *temp.* Edward I, and taken their name.

English lord (a man of note) and bestowed by the warrior bishop of Bayeux on a Norman follower. Another ancient house is that of the Cheshire Leighs, but the statement that Lord Leigh's ancestors were of "High Leigh, co. Cheshire, where they were seated before the Conquest" ('Burke's Peerage') seems to be unsupported by any evidence or even by any pedigree to so early a date.¹ The Stricklands of Sizergh also were an ancient house; but when 'Burke's Peerage' informs us under Strickland of Boynton (Baronets) that "the parent stock of this family was settled, previously to the Norman Conquest, at Strickland," we have only to turn to the 'Landed Gentry' to learn, under 'Strickland of Sizergh,' that the "first of the name of Strickland met with is in the reign of King John." So, here again, to dispose of the statement in 'Burke's Peerage,' we have only to refer to the statement in 'Burke's Landed Gentry.'

Let us turn to two houses, victims of Mr. Freeman's onslaught. Tollemache² now no longer accompanies "the Saxons," on their "first arrival in England," tolling a bell to proclaim the fact. But he still (under Lord Dysart)³ "claims Saxon descent." As a matter of fact, 'Talemasche' first appears, in the twelfth century, among the followers of the Oxfordshire St. Johns, and early in the next century was holding Bentley in Suffolk by serjeanty. The name, evidently a nickname, suggests Norman

¹ See Burke's *History of the Commoners*. IV, 530, where, moreover, this family is shown as paternally Venables, one of whom married a Leigh heiress in the 13th century.

² *Cont. Rev.* XXX, 27-8.

³ Both Lord Dysart and Lord Tollemache are descended from the Tollemaches in the female line only.

origin. The family of Wake, their fellow-sufferers,¹ had not made up its mind, when Mr. Freeman wrote, whether to be Norman or Saxon, and ' Burke's Peerage ' endeavoured to combine the two versions, the great point being to suggest that they were " of importance prior to the Conquest." Since the historian tossed aside " this trumpery piece of genealogical fiction," we are only told that the " Wakes claim Saxon origin." Why they do so it is hard to say, for their alleged, but imaginary, descent from Hereward is only through a succession of females, while I have been able to show that this ancient feudal house can trace its pedigree back to a Norman in the days of Henry I.

If some of our " Saxon " houses prove to be really Norman, one at least can be shown to be probably of the great Breton stock.

In old editions of Burke's ' Peerage ' one found under ' Stafford ' this delightful story.

Weever, in his work on ' Ancient Funeral Monuments ' has these observations :—' This name hath been of exemplarie note before the Conquest, if you will believe thus much that followeth taken out of the pedigree of the Jerninghams by a judicious gentleman : Anno MXXX, Canute King of Denmark and of England, after his return from Rome, brought divers captains and souldiers from Denmarke, whereof the greatest part were christened here, in England, and began to settle themselves here ; of whom Jernegan or Jernengham, and Jernihingho, now Jennings, were of the most esteeme with Canute, who gave unto the said Jerningham certaine manors in Norfolk ; and to Jennings certaine manors lying upon the sea-side, near Harwich, in Suffolke, in regard to their

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-3.

former services done to his father Swenus, King of Denmark."¹

This *exordium*, however, was, as usual, inconsequently followed by a pedigree beginning only with a man who lived "in the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry the second." That is to say, we have, here again, a pedigree beginning about the middle of the 12th century.

I have elsewhere² gone into the question of "the origin of the Jerninghams" and have shown that the pedigree has been compiled by confusing two distinct families of the name in the 12th century, one in Yorkshire, the other in Suffolk. Each of them took the name from an ancestor who was christened by the Breton name of Jarnegan, and the Suffolk house, from which the Jerninghams are descended, gave its name to Horham Jernegan and Stonham Jernegan. The pedigree from Hubert 'Jernegan,' who succeeded in or about 1183 and died some twenty years later, seems to be unquestioned. His existence is proved by the public records, and he occurs in the 'Red Book of the Exchequer' as a tenant of the Honour of Eye.³

It must however be confessed that when a pedigree does not begin till the latter part, or at

¹ This is now cut down to a statement that the family "is stated to have been originally Danish and the name *Jernegan*. Weever in his *Ancient Funeral Monuments* says "this name hath been of exemplarie note before the Conquest'."

² *Ancestor*, No. 12, pp. 186-7.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 411. I was misled at first by the marginal date against this list in the unfortunate official edition into supposing it to belong to 1166, but, buried away in a footnote, is the statement that it "is a later addition" in the Black Book. From the names of "Robertus filius Rogeri" and of "Comes Rogerus" I should assign it to the days of Richard I, with which date also the name of "Willelmus de Glanville" would tally. This, it will be seen, harmonises well with the date assigned to Hubert Jerningham.

any rate the second half of the twelfth century, a Christian name no longer affords the same decisive evidence as it would have done a century before. One has always to allow for the fashion, already referred to, of bestowing on the children of English houses Norman or other foreign names. In other words, we find ourselves, even at that early date, unable even to predicate of a family, with any certainty, that it was of 'Norman' or of 'Saxon' origin, however glibly its origin is alleged. An instance in point is afforded by the house of (Leveson) Gower, now Dukes of Sutherland. Of this family, whose baronetcy dates from 1620, and who were raised to the peerage in 1703, 'Burke' still informs us that

"All our antiquaries coincide in.... giving it an Anglo-Saxon origin ; but they differ as to the identity of its founder ; some tracing that honour to sir Allan Gower, Lord of Sittenham in Yorkshire, and high sheriff of the county at the period of the Conquest ; while others name William Fitz-Guyer, of Sittenham (*sic*), who was charged with a mark for his lands, in the sheriff's accounts, anno 1167."

Now it is safe to say that no such sheriff of Yorkshire as "Sir Allan Gower" is known "at the period of the Conquest," and that, even if he were, his name would prove that he was of alien birth, but William "filius Guhier" (or "Guher") is a real man, who appears in possession of Stittenham on the pipe-roll of 1167 (p. 95). This, however, was a full century after the Norman Conquest, when we cannot safely say what the origin of his line had been. All that we can assert is that the

name he bore was not 'Saxon', but Norman.¹

We similarly find case after case of families which can boast of a clear pedigree, and even of continuous tenure of land, back into the 12th century, not content with this distinction, but claiming "Saxon" origin. We read of the Fulfords of Fulford in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' that they "are of Saxon origin;" and yet it is only claimed that at Fulford, "as it appears by records, as well as registries (*sic*) in the Coll. of Arms, they were seated in the time of Richard I." Now Richard I did not succeed till more than 120 years after the Norman Conquest. So also, the Gatacres of Gatacre are assigned a pedigree beginning only in the days of Henry III, and yet their patriarch held lands which, it is stated, "had been obtained by his ancestor by grant from Edward the Confessor."² Again, we read of the Worcestershire Hornyolds (now represented only in the female line) that "The family.... is of Saxon origin and possessed lands in Worcestershire in the 13th century."³ Why "of Saxon origin" if it cannot be traced back beyond the 13th century? The Hudlestons of Hutton John, we learn, "trace their pedigree from Saxon times," but how they do so it seems to be considered quite superfluous to explain.⁴

¹ Duke Robert of Normandy speaks of a 'Goherius' as one of his barons in 1088, and a Turstin 'Goherius' occurs in Normandy in 1157 (See my *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, pp. 39, 268). Some confusion has been caused by the fact that Gower in South Wales occurs as 'Gouherium' (Ib. 106) or 'Goher' (*Red Book of the Exchequer* p. 761), which gave rise to "de Goher", a wholly distinct surname.

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ *Op. cit.* Investigation, however, is rewarded by discovering in 'Burke's History of the Commoners' (II, 582) that at 'Hodelston' in Yorkshire "they

Of the Crofts of Croft Castle in Herefordshire, whose baronetcy dates from 1671, and in whose possession Croft remained till the close of the 18th century, we read in ' Burke's Peerage,' that

The family of Croft, which is of Saxon origin, settled in Herefordshire at a very remote period, . . . and in Domesday Book Bernard de Croft is mentioned as holding the lands of Croft, which his descendants inherited, etc.

Now the thing that is here quite certain is that if the name of the lord of Croft in 1086 was Bernard, he cannot have been "of Saxon origin." But a further criticism is that Croft appears in Domesday as held, not by ' Bernard de Croft ', but by ' Bernard ' simply. As there were several other manors in the county then held by ' Bernard ', there is nothing by which to identify the holder of Croft, or to show that he is not the same Bernard as in one or more other entries.

Again, the Pilkingtons of Pilkington and Rivington, in Lancashire, from whom claim descent the Yorkshire baronets of the name, had a pedigree which, in Mr. Farrer's opinion, could be just carried back into the 12th century. But, not content with this, they wished to be Saxon thegns and even annexed the Conquest story which the Traffords claimed for themselves. The garrulous but delightful Fuller repeats the story. As we read in ' Burke's Peerage ':—

were seated for several generations antecedently to the Conquest. The pedigree begins with an Adam, and proceeds, through four subsequent descents (John, son of Adam, Richard, son of John, Richard son of Richard,) all in Saxon times, etc." To these pre-Conquest Hudlestons—John, Richard and Richard—we may apply that "Jedburgh justice" which Mr. Bird has denounced in the case of the pre-Conquest Traffords. That is to say, we may class them, on the strength of their names alone, among fabulous things.

Fuller says that the Pilkingtons were originally of Rivington, in the county of Lancaster, and a right ancient family ; that they were gentlemen of repute in the shire before the Conquest, at which time the chief of the house, being sought after by the Norman soldiery, was fain to disguise himself as a thrasher in a barn etc.¹

With the usual inconsequence, however, 'Burke' proceeds :—

The first of the family we find upon record is Leonard Pilkington of Pilkington Tower in the County of Lancaster, living in the reign of the first Henry.

Here, precisely as with the Bingham, we find that no attempt is made to trace the pedigree beyond the days of Henry I ; while, precisely as in that case also, the first ancestor on record proves to be unknown to records. There is an Elizabethan flavour about his name, Leonard, which is suggestive as to his origin.

There are two ancient houses which cannot strictly be included within the scope of our enquiry, for the Swettenhams of Swettenham became extinct in the male line in 1788, while the male line of Staunton of Staunton failed much earlier, the estate passing subsequently through a succession of females. One may note, however, the confident assertion in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' that

The family of Staunton, one of great antiquity, is traced from the time of the Conqueror, and there is no doubt of their having been settled in co. Nottingham in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Oddly enough, the earlier version (in Burke's *History of the Commoners*) only claims that the pedigree

¹ See Vol. I, p. 316.

" can be traced from the time of the Conqueror" and abstains from the further assertion.¹ The origin of the latter, clearly, is the old doggerel pedigree there quoted.

O champion cheefe and warlike wight,
Of Staunton's stocke the pryme
The and thy sequel I must blase,
And pedegrewe define.

The first Sir Mauger Staunton, Knight,
Before Williame came in,
Who this realme into one monarche,
Did conquer it and winne.

The obvious antiquity of this doggerel might give it, from what we have seen, some authority in the eyes of Mr. W.H.B. Bird;² but Sir Mauger's name, unfortunately, is proof positive that he was not at Staunton "before Williame came in." And as to the "regularly traced" pedigree, even from the Conquest, it is certain that a man who died in 1326 cannot have been, as alleged, only five generations removed from Staunton's "champion cheefe." Again, Swettenham of Swettenham is yet another of those cases in which the pedigree put forward does not extend further back than the 13th century, and yet in which 'Saxon' descent is most confidently claimed. Indeed it is asserted that the family "preserved a male succession from the Saxon times." And what is the evidence? "Tradition."

This very ancient family, which, according to tradition, was seated at Swettenham long antecedent to the Conquest,

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 526.

² See pp. 72, 74 above.

and had a confirmation of the estate, *temp.* William Rufus, to the then Saxon possessor, derives its surname from a compound of two Saxon words, *sweet*, pleasant or agreeable, *Ham*, a dwelling place or village, etc.

I shall have occasion below (p. 103) to revert to this etymology.

Another of our *von* families which claims Saxon origin is that of Hanbury. Several extant families of the name claim descent from the Hanburys of Hanbury, co. Worcester, of whom we read in the 'Landed Gentry,' under Hanbury Williams, that

The Hanburys are reported to have had a settlement in co. Worcester prior to the Conquest, and to have been of Saxon descent.

One can only say that Domesday, dealing with the Worcestershire Hanbury, knows nothing of them, and that this vague "report" may be very safely dismissed. We pass from a "reported" to a "stated" settlement.

The Sewins, now Salweys, are of Saxon origin, and are stated to have been settled at Cannoc (the present Kanke) co. Stafford, at a period antecedent to the Conquest.

How can one deal with these nebulous statements? Where is 'Kanke'? What is there to show that the Salweys were originally Sewins? Certainly not the pedigree vouchsafed us, which begins, apparently, with a Salwey about the middle of the 14th century. There are families, however, of which the pedigrees do not begin till later, by a good deal, than this, and yet which claim to know their pre-Conquest ancestry.

There was a time when the Berneys, holders of a baronetcy of 1620, claimed, in ' Burke, ' that their " ancestors, at the period of the Conquest, were lords " of Berney, Norfolk. But of recent years we were only told that " This very ancient family claims to be of Saxon origin. " Now, however, there is a further change, and the family " claims to be of Saxon or *probably*¹ *Norse* origin. " As the pedigree that follows begins only in " the time of Edward III, " one does not see why further guesses should not follow *ad infinitum*. With another Norfolk family, whose name is similarly local, I had not proposed to deal, for its claim to a pre-Conquest origin is now but vague in ' Burke. ' Recently, however, and somewhat unexpectedly, it has been thrust upon our notice. I here place side by side the old version of the Wyndham origin which appeared under Egremont in ' Burke's Peerage ' and that which now appears in ' The Landed Gentry. '

This noble house deduces its descent from *Ailwardus*, an eminent Saxon, of the county of Norfolk, who, being possessed of an estate there, in Wymondham (subsequently called Wyndham), assumed, soon after the Norman Conquest, the surname of Wyndham. From this personage lineally descended, through a long line of illustrious ancestors etc.

This family claims descent from Ailwardus, an eminent Saxon of Norfolk, who, being possessed of an estate there, in Wymondham (subsequently called Wyndham) is stated to have assumed, soon after the Norman Conquest, the surname of Wyndham.

¹ The italics are mine.

It will be observed that in the Landed Gentry the *exordium* is somewhat modified.

In the pulpit, however, it is not. "In the pulpit?" the startled reader may, not unnaturally, enquire. In no less lordly pulpit than that of Rheims Cathedral. At the recent solemn *triduum* in honour of Joan of Arc, the selected preacher was Canon Wyndham (of Westminster Cathedral). In the great congregation were cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries of the church.

"After incidentally mentioning that he came of a family that was settled in Norfolk before the Conquest, Canon Wyndham said"—

among other things, in the course of his sermon, "Un de mes aieux combattit à la bataille de Poitiers." ¹ I am not acquainted with the etiquette, in these matters, of the Roman church, but one can hardly imagine an Anglican clergyman proclaiming, at the outset of his sermon, that his family had been settled in a certain county even before the Conquest, or informing his congregation that one of his ancestors had fought at the battle of Poitiers.

The Wyndham story obviously rests on the evidence of "Ailwardus," that "eminent Saxon," who held an estate in Wymondham. But in Domesday we look in vain for this "eminent Saxon," whether in the days of Edward or in the days of William. It is only with infinite trouble that we run him down at last. The proof of his

¹ See report of the sermon (17 July) in *Tablet* of 24 July, 1909, p. 136, where a footnote explains that the ancestor in question was "Sir Richard Wyndham Knt."

existence is a charter of William d'Aubigny ("de Albini") to Wymondham Priory, among the witnesses to which are found "Ailwardus de Wymundeham et filii ejus, Ricardus, Paganus, etc, Edricus de Wymundham." But, in the first place, the charter can be dated as not earlier than June 1121, when Ebrard, bishop of Norwich (who was present at its granting) was consecrated,¹ so that when we do meet with Æthelward ("Ailwardus"),² it is *fifty five years at least* after the Norman Conquest. And, in the second place, he cannot have borne, at this date, an hereditary surname, and was merely styled "of Wymondham" from the place of his abode. For all that we can see, Edric "of Wymondham" might have been claimed as the ancestor instead.

But here again we note the singular fact that the actual pedigree given in 'Burke'³ begins only some 250 years after the Conquest, when "William son of Ralph de Wimondham was possessed, 10th Edward II, of the manors of Crownthorpe and Wicklewode, Norfolk." And, alas, we find that even this statement, comparatively modest though it is, will not bear investigation. The official evidence of *Feudal Aids* confirms that of the local historian, and proves that neither of these manors was held by the Wyndhams at the time. It is strangely difficult, indeed, to find satisfactory information on the history, at that period, of this ancient and distinguished house. Indeed, although

¹ The charter also mentions Queen Adeliza, who was not married to the King till this year.

² Compare p. 7 above.

³ In "Brydges' Collins" an actual pedigree is traced from 'Ailwardus', but this seems to be now dropped.

in *Feudal Aids* the Norfolk returns are very full and extend down to the year 1428, there is not a Wyndham to be found in them. It appears to have been only later in the reign of Henry VI that the family acquired their manors in Crownthorpe, Wicklewood, and Felbrigg.

With regard to the ancestor who fought at Poitiers, a Richard de Wymundham is mentioned early in 1356 as going to Brittany with the Prince of Wales, but I cannot find proof that he fought at Poitiers or that, even if he did, he was one of the Norfolk house.¹ The Norfolk Wymondham was not the only place of its name in England, and the family, probably, would not claim Richard de Wymondham, a burgess of Reading (1348), Adam de Wymondham, a London mercer (1350), or John de Wymundham, a London ironmonger (1310), as among their ancestors. One may fairly, therefore, ask for proof that the warrior of Poitiers was so. I would again, however, remind the reader that a landowning pedigree extending even to the 15th century is now a rare distinction.

Another Roman ecclesiastic, Father Bernard Vaughan, has been seizing the rather unfortunate occasion of his opening a bazaar "on behalf of the church of the Sacred Heart," for denouncing as "lunatics" those who said that Roman Catholics had "changed." To those who are acquainted with the invocations of our ancient parish churches "the Sacred Heart," surely, has a somewhat unfamiliar sound. Nor would "the church of the Im-

¹ No Wyndham is to be found in the index to General Wrottesley's *Crecy and Poitiers*.

maculate Conception," with which one associates his well-known sermons on the sins of London Society, have sounded more familiar to the ears of our English forefathers. Urging, however, that his hearers "should ask the old Catholic families that question," he proceeded: "My family has been here some twelve hundred years nearly, and I don't think we have ever changed our religion (laughter)."¹ The laughter, one presumes, applies to the latter statement only; but as to the former, the Vaughans of Courtfield do not even claim a more remote ancestor than "Henry (*sic*) Fitz Herbert," chamberlain to Henry I, "the first of his family born in England."² If they can make that claim good, mere Protestant arithmetic would give them a pedigree in England of about eight centuries, not of "nearly" twelve. Another "fact," however, followed immediately on this. The speaker "described the English churches in the time of his youth, when over the altar, instead of the Cross, was seen the Arms of England, supported by the Lion and the Unicorn (laughter). That was a fact."³ I myself have seen the royal arms in my youth, but in their historic place over the chancel arch. They replaced the rood on its screen at the Reformation, and were afterwards placed on the chancel arch.

The newspaper scribe, in his passionate craving for 'pre-Norman' lineage, outstrips at times the generous assumptions covered by the name of Burke. One draws from that unfailing well of

¹ *The Yorkshire Weekly Post*, 27 Nov. 1909.

² *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

³ *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, *ut supra*.

genealogical truth, the 'Social and Personal' column, this bucketful of nonsense.

Lord Welby's lineage dates back to pre-Norman times, and in those days one Rannulf was feudal tenant of Guy de Credun, in Wellebi, near Grantham, and a century later John de Wellebi figures in the records as holder of one and a half knight's fees under Maurice de Crum.¹

To Rannulf and to Guy, as feudal landowners in "pre-Norman" England, one promptly awards that 'Jedburgh justice' which, in the similar case of Trafford, moved Mr. Bird to wrath. For this anachronism, however, 'Burke' is not responsible. But it may surprise the reader to learn that 'Credun' and 'Crum,' which are both taken from that gorgeous work, represent alike the name of the noble and ancient Angevin house of Craon. It is, moreover, to be feared that, in spite of 'Burke's' appeal to the evidence of Domesday Book, the actual Welby pedigree begins far later. Careful scrutiny of the 'Burke' lineage reveals the fact that the earliest ancestor from whom actual descent is claimed was a "collector of subsidy in Denton, 1523," and that the jejune pedigree for the next century or so suggests a somewhat modest social position. That the family derives its surname from the local place-name, Welby, is, of course, obvious enough, but as with Wymondham (Wyndham) the fact is no proof that it descends from men who, in the 12th century, were known as "of (*de*) Welby."

It is "an article of faith," as Mr. Bird would say, with some people, I believe, in Sussex that

¹ *Evening Standard and St. James Gazette*, 4 Aug. 1909.

the Scrase family is 'Danish.' In 'Burke's History of the Commoners' we duly read that "The family of Scrase, originally of Danish extraction, held lands in Sussex before and at the period of the Norman Conquest, as appears by the general survey" (IV, 279). Yet a well-known Sussex antiquary, Mr. M.A. Lower, though loth to reject the tale, had to confess that—

According to an ancient tradition preserved in this family and sanctioned in the official books of the Heralds, the Scrases came from Denmark and held lands in Sussex before and at the time of the Conquest. So far, however, as I have been able to investigate the matter I find no documentary evidence of this statement.¹

Quite so. Domesday, most certainly, ignores the Scrase family. Mr. Lower had further to confess that the pedigree begins only with Richard 'Scrasce,' who died in 1499, and whose life, therefore, only takes us half-way back to the Norman Conquest! The earliest mention even of the name was, he added, on a subsidy roll of the 14th century.² Later still, in 'the Landed Gentry', begins the pedigree of Thistlethwayte, which only starts about the end of the 16th century. And yet the family is definitely stated to be "of Saxon origin."

Another family which, like the Scrases, is confidently claimed as of 'Danish' origin is that of Copinger. At the head of the 'lineage' of Dr. Copinger in "Burke's Landed Gentry" (1906) we read that

¹ "Genealogical memoir of the family of Scrase" (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* VIII, 1.)

² In a subsequent article (vol. XXIV, p. 17), however, he wrote that the name is found on the Hundred Rolls, and that the Danish descent is "sanctioned somewhat by a note in the Heralds' Visitation of 1634."

The family of Copinger is of great antiquity in the county of Cork, having originally come from Denmark in the 10th century.¹

Yet the actual pedigree begins only in the days of Elizabeth.

In "Burke's Commoners" (1835) we similarly read that the Copingers, "like the Jerninghams² of England and the Plunkets of Ireland, came originally from Denmark" (II, 326.) Dr. Copinger himself, in his painstaking *History of the Copingers*, similarly asserts that

The family of Copinger or Coppinger is of great antiquity in the County of Cork, in Ireland The Copingers originally came from Denmark and settled, probably as early as the tenth century, in the County of Cork.

This is an interesting illustration of that curious belief which lies, as my readers have seen, at the root of so many delusions, namely that families had hereditary surnames in the tenth century as in later times. Dr. Copinger, for instance, writes that

There have been two main divisions of the family (*sic*) of Copinger, one Irish the other English—the one connected with the County of Cork the other with the counties of Suffolk and Kent. That these are from the same stock is evidenced by their bearing the same arms. No connection can be traced between the two divisions, and it is impossible to say whether the Suffolk Copingers came from Ireland, or the Irish Copingers from Suffolk, or whether both came from Denmark direct, but it is

¹ In the 1894 edition it was less definitely asserted that "the Irish Coppingers claim (*sic*) descent from one of those hardy Northmen who, in the 9th century, invaded the South of Ireland."

² See p. 85 above.

clear that the family originally came from the last mentioned place.

But *why* it is clear, unfortunately, we are not told.

In his "Introduction" to the Suffolk Copingers, the learned author states that

A branch of the Danish family of Copinger, already treated of, was settled in Suffolk at a very early date. They probably appeared there in the time of King Alfred, having come over in the Danish fleet in 860, headed by Inguar and Hubba.

Need I repeat that there cannot have been a "family of Copinger," Danish or otherwise, in the 9th century? Dr. Copinger, evidently, even thinks it possible that the arms which prove the common origin of the English and Irish "branches" may have been borne by the "family" at that remote date.¹ What they really prove, of course, is that one family must have taken the arms of the other, as is so often done, on the supposition that a common surname implied a common origin. One does not know if that surname is believed to be "Danish," but Dr. Copinger tells us at the outset that "the original form of the name was Copener or Copyner." We have only to turn to our "Bardsley" to learn that "Copener" meant "the lover or sweetheart," while the *New English Dictionary* is cruel enough to prove that it really meant a "paramour."

I suggested above (p. 4) that the 'Saxon' claim, in the case of our oldest families, was perhaps due

¹ For, otherwise, they could not have descended to the two "branches," if, as he considers possible, they came from Denmark separately.

to a guess that, as their tenure of their estates had been immemorial, it was doubtless older than the Conquest. But I strongly suspect that in certain cases the idea has another origin. Incredible though it may seem to persons of ordinary intelligence, the strange confusion of thought that prevails on these subjects¹ has evidently gone so far as to cause, in some instances, an impression that, because a place-name is "of Saxon origin" (as our place-names mainly are), the family which derived its surname from possession of or connexion with a place with such a name must be of "Saxon origin" too, if not indeed as old as the place-name itself! A moment's thought, of course, will show that if, after the Conquest, a foreign knight obtained possession of an English manor, with a 'Saxon' name, he or his descendants would probably adopt that name as a surname, without thereby becoming "of Saxon origin."

And yet that this confusion does actually exist is proved by the amazing passage with which the Biddulph pedigree still begins in 'Burke's Peerage.'

The Saxon words '*Bidde*' or '*Bida*', prayer, entreaty etc., and '*ulph*'—assistance, protection etc., of which the surname of *Biddulph* is composed, would indicate that its first possessor had been employed in some embassy or mission to entreat assistance, and thence obtained the appellation.

Now the pedigree is traced from the Biddulphs of Biddulph—one of the oldest families in England,²

¹ See. p. 2 above.

² General Wrottesley tells me that there is no reason to doubt their descent from a younger son of Orm of Darlaston (co. Staffs) *temp.* Henry I. But Eyton was, of course, in error in making Orm a son of Richard 'forestarius.'

—who, I need scarcely say, obtained their “appellation” simply from the fact that they held Biddulph, co. Staffs. The same idea seems to animate the ‘Burke’ etymology of Swettenham¹ or of Sibthorp, of which latter surname we read that

The name of Sibthorp,... is pure Saxon,² *sib* signifying peaceful or quiet, and *thorp* a village.

The surname of course, is merely derived from the far older place-name the origin of which is wholly irrelevant. Again, the ‘Landed Gentry’ pedigree of the modern family of Sandbach begins with the statement that

the name of Sandbach belongs to a town in co. Chester which was founded in Saxon times.

What has this to do with the family pedigree or with the antiquity of its surname? The climax perhaps is reached in ‘Burke’s Peerage’ under ‘Tichborne’ where one used to read :

This very ancient family, which was of importance in the county of Hants before the Norman Conquest, derives its surname from the river Itchen, at the head of which it had possessions and thence was denominated De Itchen—borne, a name which time has reduced to Tichborne.

Later learning is represented by the amazing addition :

but this derivation is objected to, and another suggested viz. Tich and Borne. (!)

¹ See p. 92 above.

² This is precisely what it is not. Thorp is a termination distinctive of the Scandinavian districts.

Could anything be crazier than this? 'Little Tich' we know as a name borne by a music-hall comedian, but what meaning is attached to the above phrases by 'Burke' it is difficult to say. The family was named 'De Tichborne' simply because it held Tichborne. That is how it obtained its surname, which is not a question of etymology at all.

One must once more insist upon the fact that surnames were adopted from place-names, which were of far older origin, and not *vice versa*.¹

The Tichbornes, who are beyond question among our oldest houses, had a pedigree constructed for them, it seems, in the 17th century, which carried back their descent to Roger de Tichborne, by whom Tichborne was held in 1166: it is certain, however, that his father, Walter de Tichborne, a man by no means of 'Saxon' name, was its holder in 1135. Beyond that all is blank. But Mr. Oswald Barron, in his brilliant sketch of the Tichbornes' history,² has quoted from the *British Archæological Journal* the absolutely amazing statements of a learned and well-known Hampshire antiquary, Mr. F.J. Baigent.

Research is outstripped at the start—"The family of Tichborne are well known to be of Saxon descent, and date their possession of the manor of Tichborne two hundred years before the Conquest."

The reader must turn to Mr. Barron's sketch to learn further details of how the silence of records

¹ This essential proposition is not affected by the cases, in which, *after the introduction of surnames*, families or individuals gave their names, as owners or occupiers, to manors, farms, houses, etc.

² *The Ancestor*, No. 2, p. 114.

is accounted for till "the first of the Plantagenets ascended the throne," when, according to Mr. Baigent, "the chroniclers tell of a gallant crusader, whose name and prowess were known far and wide, Sir Roger de Tycheburne, who oft had waved the standard of the cross high above the infidel Moslems," etc. etc. This is dangerously suggestive of his poaching on Sir Mychell de Carington's province.¹ But, as in the case of that rival patriarch, "the chroniclers" who tell of his deeds have not yet been discovered.

The whole business is a startling instance of the lengths to which a really learned man may be carried by enthusiasm for a local house, a family of his own faith. Mr. Barron has acutely traced the legend of Saxon origin as far back as the death, for treason, in 1586, of Master Chidiok Tichborne, who protested in "a speech of wailing regret" that he was "descended from a house, from two hundred years before the Conquest, never stained till this my misfortune." That the tale of its pre-Conquest tenure should thus appear in the days of Elizabeth is precisely what one would expect. Was it not also under her that a local poet in Lancashire flattered the Traffords by alluding to their stock "before the Conquest was." These beliefs, as I observed above, would almost naturally arise when men began to covet a pre-Conquest tenure.

One cannot assert that the same confusion of a place-name with a surname is responsible for the 'Saxon' origin of the Lancashire Radcliffes, but

¹ See below.

when 'Burke' speaks of "the family of Radcliffe, one of decidedly Saxon origin," which took its name from Radcliffe, one is led to wonder whether the fact that the place-name is "of Saxon origin" explains this confident statement. For no attempt is made to carry the pedigree back beyond William de Radcliffe "sheriff of Lancashire, 1194" (which he most certainly was not),¹ alleged to be grandfather of Richard de Radcliffe, to whom Edward I granted a charter in 1303-4. As a matter of fact there is just a possibility that the pedigree might be carried two generations further back to a man of native stock; but this, clearly, was unknown to those who began it with William.

Perhaps the most extraordinary claim to a pedigree of eleven hundred years is that which is made for the Boothbys. For it is fully recognised that the first baronet, a supporter of Charles I, was the son of a London woollen merchant and the son-in-law of a lord mayor, and that his ancestry cannot be traced further back than the days of Edward VI. Yet I draw from that unfailing spring, the 'Social and Personal' column, this unhesitating paragraph :—

Sir Brook Boothby ... comes of a family whose records go back in a fairly unbroken line to something like three hundred years before the Norman Conquest. When Egbert divided England into counties in 800, the Danish Boothbys had been so long settled in Lincolnshire that a town had been called by their name.²

¹ He only appears in that year as paying a small fine for pardon and the king's favour.

² *Evening Standard and St. James Gazette*, 13 June 1905. In the same column we have read (19 Nov. 1908) that "the family is of Danish origin, and its members are traditionally of unusually high stature." The story quoted above is also unusually tall.

Now what are the facts? Camden is responsible for the silly statement that "the hundred or wapentake of Boothby, Boothby-Pagnell, a market town, and a gentleman's old seat called Boothby were denominated from one Boothby who there inhabited." Thereupon it is argued that, as hundreds or wapentakes were created by Egbert, according to Dugdale, in the year 800, the Boothbys had already, at that date, an established position in the county. Need one say that no such person as "one Boothby" could have then existed or that, if he had, neither town, wapentake, or hundred would have been called after him?

In an early edition of 'Burke's Peerage' the pedigree begins, quite modestly, as follows:

This family, whose pedigree can be traced to the reign of Edward VI, obtained its baronetcy in the person of HENRY BOOTHBY, Esq.....

But we now read, in the same work:

The Boothbys claim Saxon origin, and the assumption is sustained by Dugdale and Camden. The former very learned antiquary (*Origines Juridicales*, c. IX) fixes the division of counties in the year 800 by EGBERT; and the latter, speaking of Lincolnshire, says etc., etc.

To say that Dugdale sustains the Saxon origin of the Boothbys is most disingenuous: he has absolutely nothing about them. His statement that England was divided into hundreds in the year 800 has no more to do with the Boothbys than would have a statement that the Norman Conquest took place in the year 1066.

Before proceeding to deal with that group of

' Saxon ' houses whose claims are based on surnames formed from ' Saxon ' Christian names, we may glance at some ' Burke ' etymology of another kind.

Of the Pennyman family (now represented in the female line by the Worsleys) we read that

The Pennymans claim Saxon extraction. The name was originally written PENNA-MAN, signifying the chief head man, and the family was first settled in Kent.

' Headman ' might be a name of purely English origin ; but ' Pen, ' unfortunately, means ' head, ' not in English, but in Welsh ! The invaluable ' Bardsley ' gives us a very different derivation viz ; (1) " the servant of Penny " or (2) " a miser, a niggardly man." Again, we learn of the Welds of Lulworth that

Several genealogical writers, including Guillim, bear testimony to the Saxon origin of this ancient family, which tradition has handed down time out of mind.

But the only authority that is vouchsafed is a statement in Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* that the Welds " are lineally descended from Edric Sylvaticus, *alias* Wild, a Saxon of great renown in the reigns of King Harold and William the Conqueror," etc.¹ Etymologically, I would suggest, Jonathan Wild had a better claim to descent from the famous outlaw ; genealogically, the Welds produce no ancestor more remote than " William Weld, sheriff of London 25 Edward III." And his name is fatal to their claim. For he was sheriff in 28

¹ An actual pedigree, so far as Christian names are concerned, from Edric is given in "Burke's Colonial Gentry" (II, 651), but, as it makes the sheriff only seventh in descent from him, his period would be that of the third Henry, not (as it was) of the third Edward.

(*not* 25) Edward III as " William *de* Welde, draper " ¹ and is duly found in the City records, sometimes as "*de* Welde," sometimes as "*Atte* Welde," which disposes once for all of the venerable " tradition," and proves his name to have been local. ²

Two more examples may here perhaps be dealt with. The pedigree of the Wilmot baronets of Chaddesden had this paragraph at its head—

The name of Wylimot, or Wilmot, is very ancient in England. Speed mentions Wilmot, a nobleman of Sussex, in the reign of King Ethelred. This family (as we find by deeds in their possession, some of which were made before the custom of dating those instruments began, and others bearing date 1382) was settled antecedently to the Conquest, in Nottinghamshire; from whence it removed into the County of Derby in 1539. ³

The words within the brackets are now prudently omitted, and no evidence is given for this amazing antiquity beyond the name of the family. Now Wilmot, which is borne, as a surname, by several distinct families, represents merely a diminutive of the Christian name William, the name of the Conqueror himself. There is no surname of which we can more confidently assert that it is *not* of " Saxon " origin. The other example, Gilbert, is similarly a surname founded on a Christian name which the Normans introduced into England. Like other surnames so formed it is that of uncon-

¹ He was an alderman and died in 1372. His shop was in St. Margaret's Lothbury. His widow (unknown to the *Landed Gentry*) was the daughter of a rich mercer, a Norfolk man.

² ' Weld ' was a place-name then in Essex, Herts, and Hants.

³ No attempt is made in Burke to carry back the actual pedigree beyond the 16th century.

nected families ; but, under 'Gilbert, of the Priory' we read in 'The Landed Gentry' that

Westcott observes that Gilbert, the ancestor of the present family, "possessed lands in Manadon in Edward the Confessor's days."

As Westcott can only have learned this from Domesday Book, we naturally refer to that record, only to learn that the tenant at Manadon was *not* "Gilbert", but "Colbert" !

We may now appropriately pass to that group of family names which has been already discussed on pp. 6-14, surnames derived from Christian names which were in use not only before the Conquest, but for some time after it.

At the head of these, perhaps, we ought to place Dering. "The story of the Dering myth" was broken off above (p. 55), because it seemed more properly to belong to the group we here deal with. Mr. Freeman observed how difficult it was for a man, whose surname was identical with some distinctively 'Saxon' Christian name, not to claim the bearers of the latter as members of his house. But if this temptation was general, the Derings were specially exposed to it, for their own uncommon surname is found as a Christian name in the Domesday Survey of Kent itself, where we read of "Dering son of Sired" (*Derinc filius Sired*) and of "Dering,"¹ just as, nearly a century later, we meet with a "William son of Dering" (*Willelmus filius Deringi*).² In both cases we obviously have, not a surname, but a Christian name.

¹ *Domesday I*, 1 b. The Survey also records a 'Derinc' in Surrey and a 'Dering' in Suffolk.

² *Pipe Roll 26 Hen. II*, p. 8.

But the really irresistible man to claim as the ancestor of the house was 'DIERING MILES,' who, according to 'Burke,' in 880 witnessed a grant of "King Etheluff" (*sic*). It is this ancestor of whom a "treasured record" exists, in the popular imagination, among the muniments at Surrenden Dering. The skeleton, or rather the hint of a pedigree having been thus provided, steps, as we have seen, were taken to supply the connecting links, through Sired and Dering his son.¹

And the pedigree thus concocted was, further, duly adorned with appropriate family achievements.

The author appears to have then apostrophized the remote ancestor: 'Oh Diering, wherefore art thou Diering?' And etymology supplied the answer. "Dering" says Playfair, "is a Saxon word, and signifies terror,"² and 'Burke' is of the same opinion. It is pleasant to have had a remote ancestor who was christened with an eye to the 'terror' he would inspire. But it is even nicer to have Kings for one's forefathers; and it is also a prudent thing to have two strings to one's bow. So Playfair, somewhat inconsequently, proceeds:

He is said to have been descended, in a direct line, from Ethelward, King of Diera; whose father, Oswald, was slain by Penda, the Mercian, in 642; and Ethelward, being then an infant, not four years old, was deprived of his kingdom by Osway, his bastard uncle, and forced to fly into Kent, where his posterity were called the Dierans [!], as coming from that country.

Further than this, obviously, etymology could not go.

¹ see p. 53 above.

² *Baronetage*, I, 218.

Now when was this wondrous pedigree concocted, and by whom? There is not a trace of it in the heralds' visitation of 1619, when Sir Anthony Dering entered a simple and straightforward pedigree beginning with the father of that John Dering who married the heiress of Surrenden (now Surrenden Dering.)¹ The actual pedigree in 'Burke' now begins with this John Dering himself; for which there is a good reason. It was formerly 'stated' by 'Burke' (as by Playfair) that this John's father was "Sir Richard Dering knt., of Heyton, lieutenant of Dover Castle in the reign of King Richard II." But the heralds' visitation gives him a very different father, viz: "Thomas Dering de Dengmarsh juxta Lid in marisco de Romeney." And John's son, we know from his will (1480), did hold lands "in Lyd and Romeney marsh" and in "Dengemersh." In the reign of Henry VII there seem to have been Derings scattered about East Kent. At Minster, in the Isle of Sheppey, they were husbandmen or yeomen, buried in the churchyard and bequeathing cows; at Lyminge² and Stowting also, to the north of Hythe, they were buried in the churchyard; but at Pluckley (in which is Surrenden) they were gentlemen and buried in the church.

The wills, however, of the Surrenden Derings do not begin, it seems, till 1480,³ and the testators, it

¹ This pedigree is printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, X, 327-8 with the somewhat significant note that "This pedigree is taken from the original Visitation in the College of Arms. It was entirely omitted from the Surrenden copy."

² John Dering, born at Lyminge, was admitted to the freedom of Romney, with John his son, 26 May 1464.

³ *Archæologia Cantiana*, X, 343.

is worth observing, style themselves at first "gentilman." It is not till we come to the will (1546) of Richard Dering, who had been Lieutenant of Dover Castle, that the style "Esquire" appears. And this curiously agrees with the heralds' visitation pedigree, which first allows that style to his father.

This being so, one asks again :—who concocted the great pedigree ?

Surely it was Sir Anthony's son, Sir Edward Dering, the first baronet. That interesting character and ardent antiquary, whose "uberrimam omnigenæ eruditionis copiam" is praised by his son on the family monument, is known to have collected books, charters, and manuscripts to illustrate the history of his own and other families, thus founding a famous library, among the treasures of which was the 'Dering' Roll of Arms. General Wrottesley writes in his monograph on *The Giffards* :

The following notes on the Dering Roll were given to me by the late Mr. Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald, in 1881 ;—"This Roll, which the Heralds of the time of James I erroneously associated with the Acre Campaign, is that known as the Dering Roll from its having been formerly in the possession of the Dering family, some member of which is more than suspected of having tampered with it, for the foolish, but fortunately obvious, vanity and purpose of introducing fictitious shields of his Dering, De Criol, and Pluckley ancestors" (p. 203.)

The 'member' in question was clearly Sir Edward, and his mischievous intervention makes it difficult to determine the origin of the Dering arms.

His claim was that his family, originally ' De Morinis,' bore, as such, " or, a saltire sable " ¹ and that, some time after the marriage with the daughter and heir of " Norman Fitz Dering," sheriff of Kent *temp.* Stephen, they adopted the arms, with the name, of Dering, viz: " argent, a fess azure, 3 torteaux (or roundles) gules," the torteaux being an augmentation of honour for the loyalty and bravery of the above Norman, who was " found after the battle " of Lincoln (1141) " with his shield covered with blood " ! ² This delightful anachronism is duly accepted by " Burke," which still gravely records the torteaux as an " augmentation."

This coat with the fess and torteaux appears to be at least a genuine one, for it is found on an early seal, of which there is a cast in the British Museum (D.C., D. 232), with the legend [SIGI]LL: RIC[ARD]I: FIL[II]: DERINGI: DE HAUT, and Willement states ³ that he possessed a deed of 19 Hen. III (1234-5) with an impression of it. It is also alleged to have occurred on the seal of a receipt from Sir Richard Dering, at Hayton, ⁴ in 22 Ric. II (Dec. 1398), ⁵ in Sir Edward Dering's possession. He alleged that this Sir Richard was father of the John Dering who married the Surrenden heiress, while the Visitation pedigree, we have seen, assigns him quite a different father.

¹ Mr. Oswald Barron F.S.A., from whom we hope for a definitive edition of the Rolls of Arms, has been good enough to inform me that the saltire gules of the Roll has been altered to a saltire sable, and the name of Richard Dering substituted on an erasure for the actual name on the Roll.

² Playfair.

³ in his book on Canterbury Cathedral.

⁴ Now a farm in Stanford, N.W. of Hythe.

⁵ Stowe MS. 665.

The descent of the arms, therefore, seems to be "not proven." It is noteworthy that "In the original visitation (C. 16, fo. 51) in the College of Arms the Dering coat is not given."¹

Mr. Barron, on whose acute judgment in these matters we may rely, has brought to my notice another matter affecting the Dering pedigree and the too ingenious baronet. He informs me that in his opinion some of the Dering brasses placed in Pluckley church are subject to grave suspicion. Indeed he goes so far as to hold that four of these are spurious, and possibly the shield of arms on a fifth also. The earliest is that of John Dering (d. 1425) who married the heiress of Surrenden, which has a shield with the saltire—as the Dering coat—and shows a horse beneath the squire's feet and the crest of a horse upon his helm.

Sir Edward, however, was flying at higher game than this. Some years after the visitation, namely between 1627 and 1633, he induced Segar, Garter King of Arms, to "confirm" to him the whole bag of tricks, with the black saltire of 'De Morinis' on its golden field in the 2nd and 3rd quarters, and black horses with golden manes prancing about his quartered shield as supporters and as crest.² And, best of all, Sir Edward secured a 'Saxon' motto:—"dering ondrædath ne dering."³ Mr. W.H. Stevenson, as an expert on the subject, has been good enough to inform me, in reply to an enquiry, that—

¹ *Arch. Cant.* X, 327 note.

² *Ibid* p. 329:—"Le Neve's Barts. Vol. 2, p. 48" "See the confirmation of Supporters, Crest, and Arms to Sr. Edward Dering Kt. & Baronet by Sr. Will. Segar. Kt. Garter principall King of Arms in a MS. belonging to me, Peter Le Neve, Norroy," etc. etc.

³ This was in 'Saxon' characters.

" The Anglo-Saxon motto is impossible nonsense. *Derung*, the nearest word, means ' injury ' (abstract), and the negative should precede the verb in Anglo-Saxon."

This ' Saxon ' house has now substituted another motto in its ancestral tongue, namely "*Semni ne Semni*," which, it is explained, means " I can do nothing without God's help." On this Mr. Stevenson comments: " How *semni* can mean, ' I can do nothing ' and ' God's help ' in any conceivable language except Chinese is beyond me."

The same obliging Garter King of Arms, who confirmed to Sir Edward these " gay things," officially certified about the same time (1632), as based upon record evidence, a pedigree of the Weston family deduced from " Haylerick de Weston Saxonicus." ¹ And in modern times, with even greater generosity, the heralds have recorded for Dering a coat of 60 quarterings—one of those heraldic monstrosities which delight Mr. Fox-Davies ²—among which they have thrown in yet a third coat for Dering, to say nothing of a fancy coat for that Flemish freebooter, William d'Ypres, whom Stephen created Earl of Kent. ³

Of the great collection of Anglo-Saxon and other charters transcribed by Sir Edward and by his amanuensis, Oliver Marshall, some idea may be formed from those which were in the Ashburnham collection. ⁴ But what we have specially to consider is his transcript of the ' *Textus Roffensis* '

¹ See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 308.

² *Ibid.* p. xii.

³ It is figured in *Arch. Cant.* X, 330 as " a true copy of the shield of quarterings of Dering as entered in ' Norfolk ' VII, 157, in the College of Arms, London. George Harrison, Windsor Herald" (1849-1880).

⁴ *Historical MSS. Report* VIII, App. 3, pp 27, etc.

(from which Hearne printed his text); for it was there he found that " Diering miles " from which sprang the whole story. We may then safely say that he was its " onlie begetter."

If a name so uncommon as Dering was almost bound to lead to a claim to ' Saxon ' descent, what could one expect in such a case as that of Ethelston? One naturally reads in the ' Landed Gentry ' that

Mr. Ethelston claims descent from the ancient Saxon family of Ethelstone, which is traced in an old manuscript, No. 2042 Harleian MSS. British Museum, called ' The Ethelestophylax,' from the time of Athelstan.

The Thorold story is less excusable. According to ' Burke's Peerage '—

This very old Lincolnshire family is of Saxon origin.

Theroldus de Buckenhuld was sheriff of the co. of Lincoln in 1052, and during his shrievalty gave his manor of Spalding for a cell to the abbey of Croyland, as appears by the date of the charter in Ingulph's *History of Croyland*.

The objections to this story are that the manor of Spalding (Domesday shows) was not given to Croyland; that " Ingulph's *History of Croyland*" is notoriously a forgery; and that, even if the facts were as stated, ' Theroldus ' was obviously only the Christian name of the grantor, not his surname. Turolde, moreover, was more common as a Norman than as a ' Saxon ' name.

Hitherto we have at least been dealing with families of ancient standing and territorial position. But now we will close our study of this group of ' Saxon ' houses with two of comparatively recent rise, whose cases are instructive in their way. The

houses of Whatman and of Godman had certain points in common; they both began their pedigrees in the 18th century; both also—the one by “tradition,” the other by gradual development,—have been credited by the ‘Landed Gentry’ with a claim to Saxon descent. But in this they differed: Whatman remained content with a first known ancestor who was not even born till 1741, although claiming “descent by tradition¹ from a race of independent Kentish yeomen of Saxon times” (!) But the family tree of Godman grew and grew, and, in spite of pruning here and there by loving and judicious hands, it reached at last the reign of Edward the Confessor.

“Tradition”—the value of which it so admirably illustrates—was for the Whatman claim a safer proof to offer than any detailed pedigree. To learn something of the Kentish Whatmans in the 17th century one turns to the *Canterbury Marriage Licences* of Mr. J.M. Cowper,² and one is there able to identify the position of six bearers of the name, viz :—three blacksmiths, a cordwainer, a shoemaker, and a tailor. How then, it may be asked, did the ‘Saxon’ tradition arise? Bardsley’s *Surnames* explains Whatman as meaning “the servant of Wat” (i. e. Walter) the ‘h’ being intrusive. But another derivation seems possible: the name “Wetman” occurs once as the name of a ‘Saxon’ holder in Domesday (under Herefordshire), while ‘Wateman’ is found later, obviously as a Christian name. In 1222, at Barling in Essex, a ‘Wateman

¹ The words “by tradition” have now disappeared from this sentence.

² The volumes for 1619-1676.

son of Simon' (*Wateman Filius Simonis*) is named among the lesser labourers (*minores operarii*) who toiled in the fields.¹ If 'Wateman' is the source of the surname 'Whatman,' it belongs to the group we are discussing; but the "independent Kentish yeomen" are, in any case, the fabric of a dream: they are merely paper ancestors.

The Godman pedigree, as it now appears in 'Burke's Landed Gentry,' is a particularly good example of that ingenious confusion by which all those who bear a not uncommon surname are treated as a single family, which eventually is made to include those who bore 'Godman' as a Christian name before surnames were formed. In 1879 the 'Landed Gentry' asserted that "This is an ancient Surrey Family," that Thomas Godman removed into Sussex in or about 1582, and that one of his descendants settled in Chichester in the 18th century. In 1894 a new "opening" is found:—

This is an ancient Surrey and Sussex family (two members of it being M.P. for Lewes in the reign of King John) etc.

How wondrous is the light that may yet be thrown on English history and institutions by the records of these ancient houses! Here we learn from a passing allusion that Lewes at least was returning members (whatever other boroughs may have done) to Parliament in the reign of John. It has hitherto been wrongly imagined that the English Parliament (or at least the representation of the Commons) was an institution of later growth. But the paragraph rushes on, at a pace fatal to gram-

¹ *Domesday of St. Paul's*, p. 67.

mar, and brings us once more to the 18th century with the statement that a "branch resided in and near Chichester *m.* Miriam " etc. Did the "branch" marry Miriam? And what does it all mean?

It was after this that the family tree began to develop rapidly; and the history of the house has changed. Instead of settling in Chichester in the 18th century, it now settles there at least as early as the days of Charles I. And a continuous, if jejune, pedigree is somewhat rashly vouchsafed. In the shadow of the old Cathedral spire five Richards flourish in turn; but of them the 'Landed Gentry' has not much to tell us. We consult, therefore, as for Whatman, the local marriage licences, and there find at Chichester, in the late 17th and early 18th century, two Richards in succession: the one was a carpenter, the other a knacker. Contemporary with them in the same town were a blacksmith and a tallow-chandler who bore the "ancient" name.

Again, instead of removing into Sussex from *Surrey* in the *sixteenth* century, it now removes thither from *Suffolk* and in the *twelfth*! In 'household removals,' clearly, the author of this pedigree excels. It is definitely stated in the 'Landed Gentry' (1906) that

This family descends from freemen settled in the hundreds of Bosmere, Bradmere, Claydon, Colneis, and Hartlemere in Suffolk at the time of the Domesday Survey. They removed to Lewes, Sussex, in the 12th Century.

I do not hesitate to say that this statement is, and can be, nothing but sheer invention. It

obviously rests on nothing but the blunder that every 'Godeman' in the survey was a member of a Godman family, with the addition of the further blunder by which every bearer of Godman as a surname is assumed to be a member of the same family. But, although the name Godman or Godeman is found in more than twenty Domesday entries, the Suffolk entries alone are here arbitrarily selected as providing ancestors for a family found in a distant county, which does not even claim to begin its pedigree till more than four hundred years after the Domesday survey! Moreover, one would have imagined that even polyandrous ways would not have enabled a family to descend from a number of scattered freemen living at the same time.

The removal to Sussex in the 12th century is, of course, a fiction concocted by someone to connect the Sussex bearers of the name with the imaginary Suffolk family of the time of the Domesday survey.¹ That nearly 140 years after the date of Domesday 'Godeman' or 'Godman' was still in use as a Christian name is manifest from such a survey as that of the Essex manor of Barling in 1222, where we meet with Godeman nephew(?) of Leofward (*nepos lefwardi*) and with Brihtnoth son of Godman among the peasants.

The importance of this last example lies in the demonstration it affords that the blunder exposed by Mr. Freeman has survived his ridicule and

¹ It is not even accurate to state that the 'freemen' were settled in the five Hundreds "at the time of the Domesday survey" (1086), for they are entered as settled there "in the time of King Edward" (the Confessor).

scorn, and is still adding to the number of our pre-Conquest families. It may be well, therefore, to reduce it to absurdity by quoting this delightful opening to the pedigree of Godfrey-Faussett-Osborne in the 'Landed Gentry' (1879).

The settlement in Kent of the family of Osborne (written anciently Osberne, and spelt very variously for some centuries) dates from the Saxon period. It appears from Domesday that SBERNE BIGA owned in the time of Edward the Confessor eleven messuages in Canterbury, and held etc... and that at the date of the survey, Osberne held of the bishop of Bayeux..... Osberne Paisforer, Osberne FitzLetard, and Thomas Osberne¹ are also mentioned as holding manors in Kent. At the same period also flourished Osbern, Monk of Canterbury..... one of the most learned and accomplished men of the day, etc.

This gem, one hastens to add, has wholly disappeared from the work, but, as a *reductio ad absurdum*, it is too good to be lost. Moreover, even now, the family pedigree opens with the statement that the family (*sic*) of Godfrey

"is of great antiquity in Kent. Domesday records that Godfrey held manors in Petham and West Farleigh, and that Godfrey (called Dapifer) a knight of the Archbishop, held of him etc."

Here the Christian name of Godfrey is inexplicably mistaken, like that of Osbern, for a family surname. Both these Christian names are fairly common among the Normans in Domesday.

At this point we may at last take leave, not only of those 'Saxon Houses' whose claims are

¹ This name, of course, does not (and could not) occur as alleged.

based on a surname identical with a Christian name of 'Anglo-Saxon' origin, but of all those other families in the 'Peerage' and 'Landed Gentry' who claim to be older than the Conquest. But I have reserved for treatment here the Wolseleys of Wolseley and the Lumleys of Lumley, because, in spite of the absurd 'legend' which still heads the "lineage" of the former, the actual pedigree now propounded does not even, we shall see, carry the Wolseleys to the Conquest. Nor does that of the Lumleys earls of Scarborough, ancient though their descent undoubtedly is.

As 'Burke' still insists on the above absurd legend, in spite of my own exposure of it, one must repeat that exposure.

There still remain in England a few families and Wolseley of Wolseley is one, that can prove by authentic evidence an unbroken descent from Saxon times, and show the inheritance of the same lands from a period long anterior to the Norman Conquest. A legend in the family narrates that their ancestor was given the lands of Wlselei (now Wolseley) for destroying wolves in Co. Stafford in the reign of King Edgar when wolves were finally destroyed in England.⁸

I can but reproduce my comments on this silly story, which 'Burke's Peerage' makes itself only ridiculous by repeating.

And so the "authentic evidence" consists of "a legend in the family", itself dependent on another legend, namely that wolves were "finally destroyed" in England under Edgar, whereas I have seen them alluded to as in existence

⁸ Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*.

in twelfth century charters, while they were not extirpated, of course, till an even later date.¹

The 'legend' doubtless arose from conjectures on the place-name Wolseley, which is simply Wulfsgie's² 'lie' and has nothing whatever to do with wolves. That the present family *cannot* "show the inheritance" of Wolseley from a period earlier than the Conquest is certain, for, as I explained:—

Wolseley (in Colwich), as a matter of fact, was held at the time of Domesday (1086) by the bishop of Chester, whose undertenant was a certain Nigel, unknown to the Wolseley pedigree.

However, as if to bolster up the claim in the opening paragraph, 'Burke' now adds the statement that

A pedigree compiled by Sir Richard St. George Clarendieux *temp.* James I, and carried down to 1692 by Peers Mauduit, Windsor Herald, traces the family from SIWARDUS, Lord of Wlselei, co. Stafford, who is shown by a deed sans date to have been father of WILLIAM DE WLSELEI, etc. etc.³

Although this pedigree is destitute of early dates, we find that "Robert de Wlselei", fourth in descent from this William, is entered as "living A.D. 1281". If we allow for each generation twenty-five years, this would give us William as

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History* p. 65. Wolves were still harrying the deer in Macclesfield Park as late as 1302-3, as is proved by record evidence.

² Wulfsgie was a common Christian name in A-S times. Lord Wolseley's wolf supporters and crest, with the motto "Homo homini lupus," appear to be derived from the legend, but may be only "canting" on the name.

³ This pedigree had previously appeared in Playfair's *Baronetage*.

living in 1181, and it is a remarkable fact that on the Pipe Roll of 1180 (p. 12) we find a "Willelmus de Wulfsieslega" entered under Staffordshire. This would make the pedigree begin with Siward about the middle of the 12th century, which, as I have repeatedly explained, is as far back as our oldest families can usually hope to go.

The Lumleys' case is exceptional. Mr. Freeman specially refrained from expressing an opinion on their pedigree, giving as his reason that their district was not covered by Domesday and that those who had a right to be heard on the subject considered that it might be possible to trace them beyond the Conquest. The family, however, are content to begin their pedigree in 'Burke' with Liulf the thegn, who was slain in 1080, though he is made to marry a granddaughter of King Æthelred, who died in 1016. So far as the 'Burke' pedigree is concerned, the genealogist would only object that the 1st Lord Lumley, who died in 1400, is shown as 8th in descent from the above Liulf, who died in 1080. Even with the excessive allowance of thirty years for each generation, 320 years would almost require eleven generations; and on that ground the pedigree, as it stands, may be fairly subject to some criticism.

There is one family for which is claimed a pedigree older than the Conquest, of which I have not yet spoken, because I am not yet sure that it is reckoned a 'Saxon' house. These are the famous Yorkshire Scropes, perhaps the only race of untitled commoners whose ancient greatness has been grasped by the writer of newspaper

paragraphs.¹ The 'Scrope and Grosvenor' controversy, the claim to the earldom of Wiltes, and Shakespeare's pen have all contributed to their fame. But when it is asserted, as in the 'Landed Gentry' and in the newspapers which copy therefrom, that they have a clear descent from Richard the son of Scrop and Osbern, his son, of the Welsh March, in the Confessor's days, the genealogist must reluctantly insist that no such pedigree has been made out, and that the Yorkshire house begins its history no earlier, at most, than the 12th century.²

We have now examined, I believe, practically all the houses in 'Burke's Peerage' and 'Landed Gentry' which claim 'Saxon' origin, in the sense of possessing a pedigree which begins before the Conquest. And we have found their claims fail, one after another. Is there then no house which can justly make that claim? There is at least one, which still ranks among our great territorial houses, although, as Mr. Freeman pointed out, the claim, oddly enough, is not made for it by 'Burke'. This is the historic house of Berkeley, which, although it did not obtain the lands of Berkeley till the 12th century, is now admitted by genealogists to have a clear descent from Eadnoth, who held the office of 'Staller' under Edward the Confessor.

¹ The *Daily Mail* of June 19, 1909 devotes a whole column to "A great English family : the Scropes of Danby."

² The best account of their origin will be found in Mr. A.S. Ellis' notes on 'Scrope of Flotmanby' in *Trans. East Riding Ant. Soc.* Vol. XI (1903), which may be supplemented by two charters at Belvoir Castle, dealt with by me in *Hist. MSS. Reports : Duke of Rutland's MSS.*, IV, 82-3.

And there was till recently, still figuring in the pages of the 'Landed Gentry,' one which, if its pedigree is proved, could claim the same antiquity. The Ardens of Longcroft claimed to be cadets of a house enjoying a distinction perhaps unique. For it had not only a clear descent from Ælfwine, sheriff of Warwickshire in days before the Conquest, but even held, of the great possessions of which Domesday shows us its ancestor as lord, some manors which had been his before the Normans landed, at least as late as the days of Queen Elizabeth. Here then we have a real instance of what is so freely alleged without any evidence to prove it, the tenure of lands by the same family before and after the Conquest. That such a case was quite abnormal was recognised, of course, by Mr. Freeman, who considered that their ancestor had in some way contrived to obtain the favour of William.¹ The fact, however, I repeat, is proved, and the true genealogist welcomes its proof in the case of an English house, sprung from the heart of England, with a name that reminds us of the woodland and the deer.

There are probably extant descendants in the male line of the Gloucestershire Tracys of Todington, a house which, through the lords of Sudeley, could claim an illustrious ancestor in Ralph, Earl of Hereford under Edward the Confessor. But Ralph, as his name proclaims, was not of English stock; he was the son of a French count.² There is no question, therefore,

¹ Mr. Freeman does not mention the descent of the Ardens, as he deals only with the Conquest period.

² See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 149.

in this case, of a 'Saxon' house.

But when we seek for families who can prove their native origin, although their pedigrees cannot be traced so far back as the Norman Conquest, a fair number, as will have been gathered, can undoubtedly be found. Such are Nevill, Lumley, Fitzwilliam, Stanley (as we have seen) and, among the Commoners, pre-eminently, Okeover of Okeover.¹

The people of this country have, at various periods of their existence, assimilated, with advantage on the whole, immigrants of their own race. Before the Conquest they owed much to the infusion of a virile stock from Scandinavian lands ; at the Conquest itself a stern lesson, followed by a time of much suffering, had a tonic and bracing effect on a peace-besotted democracy², and, *pace* Mr. Freeman, in many ways brought us an ultimate gain. In the succeeding century the people, we know, were already becoming one, and, as has been seen above, it is no easy matter to determine to which race belonged a house which had then its rise.

With the subsequent development of surnames there arose a test of immigration. When the surname was hereditary and fixed, it became possible to tell with a fair approach to accuracy, by the name which a man bore, the country from which he or his forefather had come. Of this we have a good example in the great immigrations, from Flanders and from France respectively, of Protestant

¹ Their family history has been written by General Wrottesley.

² I would venture to refer the reader here to what I wrote in *Feudal England* (1895), pp. 394-8, which (though reprobated at the time by Prof. Maitland) is now recognized as the alarming truth.

refugees in the 16th and 17th centuries. Proud, and justly proud, of their most honourable history, their descendants cherish the names that tell of their 'Huguenot' origin and remind us, through the Huguenot Society and its work, that of the stock from which they came they have no cause to be ashamed.

Norman "and Saxon and Dane are we," but we gained from the industry of the Fleming and we gained from the genius of the French. Who shall compare with their coming the alien inrush of to-day, the ousting of our people by the sweepings of the ghetto, the men of an outcast race? ¹ There are districts already in this country where the speech is an alien and a mongrel tongue, districts in which an English-speaking man feels as a stranger in his fathers' land. They suggest that a future *colluvies gentium*, masquerading as the English folk, may have, if they speak the truth, to adapt the lines of Tennyson as—

German and Pole and Jew are we
But all of us Jews in our welcome of thee

But our 'Saxon' houses remind us by their name that the German is a man of our own race, the speaker of a kindred tongue. It is not the sons of the German people who are now ashamed of their names: it is the offspring of an Asian race. "My people want to be let alone," said a Jew peer in the House of Lords: ² one is tempted to remind Lord Swaythling that his people are really

¹ Of course I am not referring to the distinguished Jews derived from the South of Europe.

² *Parl. Debates*, 17 March 1908 (CXXXVI, 332.)

under no compulsion to adopt a noble English or a famous Scottish name.¹ Even as I write, "Henry Clifford"—the name is ancient and historic—receives a heavy sentence, and, on the fact being revealed that his real name begins with Moses and ends with-ski, is further condemned to deportation under the provisions of that wise Act which was bitterly opposed by certain persons who seem to imagine that England exists, not for the English, but for the Russian Jew. There are immigrants with whom we can dispense.²

Great, far too great, as is now the power of the purse, the government of England is not yet,—to use a familiar and a painful phrase,—“in the hands of the Jews.”³ This is a thing that needs saying, and it has been bravely said. Speaking with the voice of a great Englishman, in his statesmanlike reply to Lord Swaythling, the Archbishop of Canterbury pointed out that

we must not..... be too much regulated and influenced by consideration of the wishes and scruples of those who

¹ It was even proposed, on one occasion, to bring this question before the Congress of Archaeological Societies on the ground of the confusion it is likely to cause. To those Jews who are satisfied with their ancestral names the above remarks obviously have no reference.

² From a despatch published in the press (23 Nov. 1908) on the "Russian Grain Frauds") I make this extract:—"All those concerned in these old-standing fraudulent practices—buyers, brokers, sorters, analysts and shippers—are exclusively Jews."

Formerly there were a few Russians and Britishers engaged in the staple industry, but their best efforts were strangled by the unscrupulous Jewish coalition opposed to them."

³ Need one say that this is a matter with which religious prejudice has nothing in the world to do. It is a Jewish rabbi who denounces, since the text was in print, "that money greed, that extravagance which was at the root of so much of the bad feeling levelled against the Jewish people," "the mammon worship which characterised so many of our Jewish circles" (and which is spreading from them into circles other than Jewish). "Money was the only passport." (*Standard*, 28 Dec. 1909.)

must, after all, be a very small minority of the people of the land taken generally.¹

For "the first duty of a Government is towards its own people." I take the phrase from Lord Donaldson's letter on unemployment, in which he boldly claims that the first remedy is that "we must have a poll-tax of at least £10 a year on every foreigner entering the country for employment."

"If a poll-tax, such as I propose, be not imposed, all plans for helping our own working classes may be likened to a man trying to empty a well, fed at the bottom with an inexhaustible spring."²

Students of economic conditions in the East End of London know that the Jewish question is one which will have to be faced in spite of indignant protests, it may be, from potent quarters.

But, if these are rather matters for politicians and economists, there is one point at least on which all have a right to speak: the great names of England Englishmen have a right to protect. Houses, the names of which are part of the heritage of England, should not be in danger of seeing them usurped by the men of an alien race. From this profanation the great Napoleon did at least save France: nor does Germany permit it. The ancestral portraits of that stately breed, in which foreigners have sometimes seen an almost Greek beauty, may find themselves in strange company: they and the heirlooms upon which, in former days, they looked, may be destined to deck the

¹ *Parl. Debates*, CXXXVI, 334.

² *Standard*, 10 November, 1909.

walls and adorn the table of a Jew. But those to whom they still belong may justly ask their countrymen to save their ancient names from the danger of sharing in their fate. If a Moses or a Levi would change the name that proclaims his race, there are other than noble names which he is at liberty to adopt. In the famous words of Crewe, addressing the assembled Lords :—

I have laboured to make a covenant with myself that affection may not press upon judgment; for I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house;... and yet time hath his revolution, there must be a period and an end of all temporal things, *finis rerum*, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene; and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? Where is Mowbray? Where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more, and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are intombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality.

Their names, indeed, might pass away; but Crewe was spared at least, in the days of the Cavaliers, the thought that these or other not less noble names might suffer what he and those whom he addressed would have deemed the last indignity.

To those who have studied with a seeing eye the map of this country there are names on every side alive with 'Saxon' memories, names eloquent of the English assembled in their ancient homes.¹ Some of them are more familiar now as the peerage styles of an Eastern race. But some there are which have escaped the flood, which are still the

¹ —ham,—ton,—ing, etc., etc.

homes of those who held them centuries ago, who have not yet been swamped or tainted by the new plutocracy, that grave source of coming danger, economic, political, and social. Of such ancient houses as these Algernon Sidney wrote :—

We know many that are now called commoners, who in antiquity and eminency are in no way inferior to the chief of the titular nobility..... and if the tenure of their estates be considered, they have the same fame and as antient as any of those who go under the names of duke or marquis.

Their fathers led this land through an age of storm and stress before it fell beneath the sway of a Baptist in a motor-car.

Of them one may still say, in Crewe's majestic speech, " I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness but his affection stands to the continuance " of these names on their ancestral lands. Nor is the spirit dead among us which led him as an Englishman to exclaim : " And yet may the name and dignity of De Vere stand so long as it pleaseth God. "

THE GREAT CARINGTON IMPOSTURE

Brown, Jones and Smith—The two John Smiths—Three Smith families claim to be ‘Caringtons’—The Conquest ancestor—The 16th century document—All turns on it—It is false—Sir Michael, the Standard-bearer—His mythical existence—His ‘costly’ crusade—His alleged relatives—Sir William’s mythical marriage—The Christchurch monument—His mythical children—The Roos marriage—“John Carington”—His alleged heirship—The 16th century narrative a proved imposture(1) by its language(2) by its statements—The pedigree collapses—The Carington arms—The Smith arms—The alleged change of name and arms—The Croke-Blount story—It rests on the same narrative—The Malebisse-Beckwith story—The identity of ‘John Smith’—RISE OF THE ESSEX SMITHS :—Hugh Smith—Sir John Smith—His grant of arms—Marriages with heiresses—Arms on monuments—The spurious pedigree appears—The family believed to be extinct—LORD CARRINGTON’S ANCESTRY :—Alleged descent from Essex Smiths—Mr. Augustus Smith destroys it—It is dropped—Dr Copinger substitutes another—The arms—THE SMITH-CARINGTON DESCENT :—Rise of the family—Descent from Essex Smiths claimed—Name of Carington assumed—Evidence of physiognomy—Who was Robert Smith (1699)?—No proof of his identity—Such proof essential—The other Robert Smith—His alleged affiliation—The evidence examined—The family lawsuit—Alleged change of faith—Heralds’ College accepts the descent—Possibly in error—What proof of identity?—The Home Office and the officers of arms—The Royal Licence—The ‘Carington’ arms—Mr Smith and the Norman dukes—The alleged Layneham descent—The ‘Redenhall’ juggle—The alleged twins—Collapse of the descent—Conclusion.

Of all the newly rich consumed by a desire for ancestry the most to be pitied are those, surely,

who bear the name of Smith. With a Brown there is always something to be done. A delightful article in the *Daily Mail* on "Where the Browns came from"—by "Sir Charles Clifton-Browne, Bart.", whose baronetcy, strangely enough, the peerage books seem to ignore—is rich in information on the subject. We there read that :—

One often hears the name of Brown mentioned in terms of contempt and derision, and it is the general idea that persons of that name are of plebeian origin. A short account of ancient families bearing that much abused surname will prove it to be one of the oldest in the British Empire, and its very antiquity has perhaps been the cause of its universality.... hundreds of men who bear the name of Brown or Browne have as good a claim to high birth and ancient lineage as the much-boasted of Vere de Vere.

These assertions which, to say the least, do not err on the side of modesty, are supported by reference to "the battleroll of Hastings, which is still in existence" (a fact of which one was not aware) and to the fact that, as early as 1091, William Rufus took in his train, when marching against Carlisle, "an esquire named Le Brun," who thoughtfully pushed on into Scotland to provide an ancestor for "the clan Brown." One of the clansmen, we further learn, "High Sheriff of Aberdeen in 1328," had "a conformation (*sic*) of arms" with "three fleurs-de-lis or, in memory of his descent from the royal house of France"! All this must be intensely gratifying to every Scottish Brown, and yet one envies also "the premier Browns in England," of whom one is tempted to exclaim, in the spirit of Mrs. Hemans :

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The Premier Browns of England,
How beautiful they stand.

Yet the Browns' potential ancestors have not been exhausted either by the writer in the *Daily Mail* or even by the author of the *Norman People*. According to the latter, three, at least, ennobled families of Browne derive from "Turulph, a companion of Rollo" in 912. It is unaccountable that both these writers should have overlooked the fact that Hugh "le Brun" was count of Lusignan in the days of Henry II and that they should not have reminded us that Master Thomas Brown—known to his colleagues as 'Brown'¹—was a mighty man, in the same reign, at the exchequer of the English King.

For Jones, again, there is hope. He may always prove to be a member of a Welsh 'royal tribe'; for, if Americans are 'mostly colonels', the Welsh nation was, in former days, mainly composed of princes. And if a junction can once be effected with the spreading royal line, he can gaily travel back to the inevitable Beli Mawr, King of Britain, to Coel Godebog and other worthies, whose arms the Herald's College may haply enable him to quarter.² Nay, Mr. H.J.T. Wood, as the champion of Welsh pedigrees, begins his demonstration of their value by admitting that "A Welshman whose family was of any position in the sixteenth century can, as a rule, without much trouble find a pedigree thence to Adam," and ingenuously adds that "an Englishman who is unable to do the same has a

¹ See the section 'Quid ad Brunum' in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*.

² See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*. p. xii.

natural tendency to regard all Welsh pedigrees with distrust, not to say contempt.”¹ Nor does even this exhaust the potentialities of Jones. For if, scornful of the land that bore him and of Shenkin, his far-off sire, he should crave rather for Norman blood, a Jones may blossom as a true Herbert, with a patriarch who was either a royal chamberlain, or a Count of Vermandois, or the bastard son of a crowned King, Henry, ‘Lion of Justice’ and father of a mighty brood. A Jones, therefore, may take courage.

But a Smith—! He may call himself, of course, Plantagenet-Smith, or, if greatly daring, even Smith-Plantagenet. But the ‘Smith’ remains; the ‘Smith’ haunts him; and the serious enquirer is bound to learn that he is not a Plantagenet, but is a Smith. The obliging Playfair² thought, indeed, that the name of Smith was derived from “Smeeth, a level plain.” But this was a counsel of despair. What is wanted is a Smith ancestor who will reveal the fact to his descendants that he was not really a Smith at all, and had only affected that distressing name to conceal the fact that he sprang from an ancient and a noble stock. In due course that want was supplied, and supplied, as we might expect, at the time when it would be most acutely felt and when the forger of pedigrees was at his prime—the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth.

¹ See his paper on “The value of Welsh pedigrees” in *Ancestor*, No 4, p. 47 *et seq.* It is not only the mere Englishman who is sceptical of these Welsh pedigrees. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans refuses to trust them further back, at most, than three generations, and reminds us that even a trustworthy Welsh genealogist would trace pedigrees “back to ‘Adam son of God’ without any sense of the incongruous.” See also my exposure of their worth for 12th cent. genealogy and of Mr. Wood’s critical ability in *Ancestor*, No 5. pp. 47-51.

² In his *Baronetage*.

There were living in Essex, in her father's reign, two contemporary John Smiths, each of whom had a son Thomas, and each of whom became the founder of an Essex house. I partly mention them together because, in spite of this coincidence, they were admittedly unconnected, a point the bearing of which will be seen when I come to discuss the alleged identity of Smiths who happen to have borne the same Christian names. But I also do so because they both were provided at a later time with ancestors of another name *temp.* Richard II. John Smith of Saffron Walden was given as forebear Sir Roger de Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, while John Smith of Cressing Temple was derived from John Carington of an ancient Cheshire house.

I cannot find that any attempt was made to connect Sir Roger with the former of the two John Smiths by supplying the intermediate generations; and, in any case, the story has long been abandoned, if ever it was seriously believed. John Smith did not receive a grant (or confirmation) of arms till 1545,¹ and I strongly suspect that when he did, the move was really made by his brilliant son Thomas (as in the case of Shakespeare)² who wished to inherit a coat; and this suspicion is confirmed by the fact that at this date he had

¹ It is not quite clear from the wording if this was the exact year.

² It is believed that the steps towards granting a coat to John Shakespeare in 1596 were really taken at the instigation of his famous son. Compare also my suggestion as to the Bertie grant in 1550 (see p. 32 above). I do not know to what extent this ingenious device for making a grantee appear to inherit his coat is sanctioned by modern heraldic practice, if indeed it is. Mr. Fox-Davies, who has made that practice his special study, could perhaps enlighten us. In 1845 Mr. Coulthart, for whom the notorious Coulthart pedigree was invented, obtained, in the name of his father, from the Lyon Office "the stolen coat of the Colts," according to the *Ancestor* (No. 4, p. 78.)

recently become Professor and Vice-Chancellor of Ely. These distinctions of the priest who already was so famed a scholar seem to be commemorated by the flaming pen in the claw of the eagle crest and the flaming altars of the strange coat in Garter Barker's grant.¹

Very different was the fate of the tale that the Smiths of Cressing Temple were really Caringtons in disguise. Sir John Smith "of Cressing," it is true, had obtained, like his namesake at Saffron Walden, and like others of the 'new men' in whom Tudor days were rich, a grant of arms from Barker; for the tale was of later growth. It was not, as a rule, the founder of the house who indulged in these fantasies: he knew from what he had risen, and others knew it too. And when, in a later generation, his heirs aspired to ancestry, when a pedigree was discovered for them, the grant to their founder of a new coat was a highly inconvenient fact. The Smiths, however, were not deterred, and, as they extended their possessions, they developed a belief in the tale till the Crown itself, as it were, gave it the seal of its sanction by bestowing on Sir Charles Smith the title of Lord Carrington (1643). Yet even then they did not venture to adopt, or add to their own, the surname or arms of Carington. That crowning and monstrous development was reserved for modern times.

We are entering on an enquiry of a somewhat complicated nature, and it will be well, at the

¹ It is stated, especially by Morant, that this John, father of Sir Thomas Smith, was the sheriff of Essex of that name in 30 Hen. VIII, but it seems to me that it was far more probably the other John Smith, a more important man.

outset, to make it clear to the reader that we have to deal with three families who, at successive epochs, have claimed descent from a John Smith who adopted, they said, that name under Henry IV, but was really the heir-male of the Caringtons of Carington¹ in Cheshire.

The three distinct families were these :—

(1)

The Smiths of Rivenhall (and afterwards of Cressing, etc.), Essex, with whom the tale originated. Marriages with heiresses brought them estates in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and one of them, Sir Charles Smith, was created Lord Carington of Wotton (Wawen, co. Warwick) in 1643. This peerage became extinct in 1706, but undoubted descendants of the family in the male line existed for some time longer.

(2)

The Smiths of Nottingham, who originally made no pretension to descend from the Essex house and who, in 1717, applied for and obtained a new and distinct grant of arms. But when Robert Smith, of this family, a London banker, was raised to the peerage in 1796, he took the title of 'Carrington' for his barony; and he further showed his desire to claim a 'Carrington' descent by directing in his will that his son and successor should take the name of Carrington in lieu of that of Smith, which was accordingly done in 1839.²

By a subsequent Royal Licence, so recently as 1880,

¹ I shall use the forms 'Carington' and 'Carrington' indifferently for the Cheshire family and place, as there was, of course, no distinction in early days.

² See G. E. C's *Complete Peerage*, II, 169, and my own further remarks below.

the spelling of the name was made 'Carington', doubtless as sounding more *distingué*. Finally the surname was again altered, in 1896, to 'Wynn-Carrington,' the year after an earldom of 'Carrington' had been bestowed on the family.¹

Although the surname and the title alike are based, as I shall show, on a glaring imposture, the family appears to have now abandoned any pretence to a descent even from the Essex Smiths, the alleged connexion having been disproved, and even vehemently denounced, by Mr Augustus Smith, a descendant of the Nottingham house. To this subject I shall recur.

(3)

In the late Victorian period a successful business man, Mr Richard Smith by name, who appears to have been consumed by a passion for illustrious ancestry, persuaded himself, like the London banker, that he was a Carington by descent and, in 1878, proceeded to "adopt and assume the surname of 'Carington' in addition to the surname of 'Smith'," but as "his "last and principal surname." "² Devoting himself with ardour to his pedigree, Mr Smith-Carington, as he thenceforth styled himself, began the history of his family from the time of the Norman Conquest, but became unfortunately so absorbed in his ancestors the dukes of Normandy that his work assumed unmanageable proportions and was never brought to completion.

After his death (1901) the work was entrusted,

¹ *Ibid.* VIII, 337.

² Deed poll enrolled 26 March, 1878.

we learn, to Dr Copinger, who at length, in 1907, produced a vast volume entitled *History and Records of the Smith-Carrington Family*. All but 17 lbs. in sheer weight, this volume is accompanied by a chart pedigree, 10 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 9 in., requiring a separate case for its accommodation. Described in its prospectus as "one of the most remarkable genealogical investigations ever carried out" and as "of very considerable general historical importance", this "family history of great genealogical and historical interest", as the advertisement ran¹,—was offered to the public at "£5. 5s. net," and it was pointed out that "the limited number of copies for sale should soon be absorbed in reference libraries." And authority was given to the work by the advertisement's statement that it was "by Walter Arthur Copinger, LL.D., F.S.A., Professor of Law in the Victoria University", whose additional distinctions the title-page records.

For the present, however, my point is that his chart pedigree brings together all the three families I have named, deriving both (1) Lord Carrington's family (through a fresh descent) and (2) that of the late Mr. Richard Smith from (3) the Smiths of Rivenhall, Essex, and tracing these last up to a John Carrington who took the name of Smith, and who was the heir-male of the Caringtons of Carington (in Cheshire), where they had been seated from the Conquest.

If then I can disprove the tale that the Rivenhall Smiths were really Caringtons, the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and there is an end, once for all,

¹ It occupied the whole front page of Notes and Queries, 17 August 1907.

to the 'Carington' pretensions of those families who claim descent through them. When I have clearly established this, I may go further still and deny that the two modern families have even shown proof of descent from the Essex Smiths of Tudor days.

Let us first disentangle—by no means an easy task in Dr. Copinger's pages—the two distinct parts of the old 'Carington' descent, viz :—

- (1) the 16th century fabrication (as we shall find it to be) which made the first ancestor of John Carington *alias* Smith to be Sir Michael Carington, standard-bearer to Richard I in the Holy Land.
- (2) the late Victorian addition which carried back the pedigree to a 'Hamo de Carington' in the days of William the Conqueror himself.

No one, reading Dr. Copinger's book, would imagine that these are quite distinct.

Greatly daring, Dr. Copinger asserts as to the latter of these fables—and the prospectus repeats his assertion including the italic type—that

There are not many pedigrees which can be taken back like that of Smith-Carington in the *direct male line* to the Conquest. Each descent is fully verified, over seven hundred years of the descent in an unbroken line having, as stated in 'Burke's Landed Gentry,' 1898, p. 235, been registered at the College of Arms.

This can only be described as a most audacious statement. There is heraldic authority for what I have termed the 16th century fabrication, but for the Victorian addition there is, we shall see, none.

Indeed, we find Dr. Copinger himself, but five lines further on, admitting that—

The very early dates preceding Adam de Carington 1170 have precluded the obtaining of such direct proof as required for registration of the four successive ancestors of Adam in the College of Arms.

But this is an under-statement. Adam, the alleged father of Sir Michael, is also, on Dr. Copinger's showing, ignored by the College of Arms. For, to continue the above quotation,—

However, the continuous descent is recorded, as already stated, in the Heralds' College from the time of Sir Mychell de Carington, Standard Bearer to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who died 1191-2 in the Holy Land.

I am informed, on enquiry at the Heralds' College, that even this assertion is incorrect and that no descent from "Sir Mychell" or any other Carington to the present family of Smith-Carington is there "registered" or "recorded."

It is, however, with the alleged pedigree "in a *direct male line* to the Conquest" that I am immediately concerned. The statement is that Mr. H.H. Smith-Carington¹ is "the present representative of the Carington family in the direct male line, being 23rd in descent from Hamo de Carington, t. William the Conqueror" (p. 371) and that he "is the heir male of the senior line ;² his direct ancestors continued from the time of William the Conqueror to hold the manor of Carington" etc. (p.i.) Hamo's biography is given on pp. 9-10 of Dr. Copinger's

¹ The son of Mr Richard Smith.

² Even if the pedigree were accepted, this assertion of heirship could not be accepted for a moment in view of the lines whose extinction would first have to be proved.

book, and we there read that Carington itself was part of Bowdon, of which Hamo de Massey was lord at the time of the Domesday Survey, and that

the lordship of the place was given by Hamo de Massey to his namesake Hamo, either a connection or follower, thenceforth known as Hamo de Carington. Hamo de Carington undoubtedly held the lordship in the latter years of the Conqueror's life. He died about 1118 and the lordship passed to his son and heir, Sir William de Carington.

Not a scrap of evidence is produced to show that this Hamo de Carington ever existed in the flesh, and I do not hesitate to say that he is a fictitious personage. I believe his name to have been evolved from that of Hamo de Massey, the real lord of Carington (in Bowdon) in 1086. And my reason for doing so is this. On pp. 357-8 of this monstrous production there is printed a pedigree of Hanbury to the marriage of the heiress with Richard Smith in 1820, intended to provide a Conquest pedigree for Mr. Smith-'Carington's' mother. This pedigree begins thus:—

Hambrusch of Hambrie, Saxon Chief (?)

t. Edward the Confessor.

Urso de Hambrie.

Guy de Hambrie.

It is not for me to explain how this frightful nonsense came to appear in a book with Dr. Copinger's name on the title page. "Hambrusch," the Saxon chief, may be left to speak for himself: my point here is that 'Urse,' who holds Hanbury in Domesday, is no mere petty lord of a rural Wor-

cestershire manor ; he is Urse d'Abetot, that Norman baron whose fief extended into four counties, and whose name was one of terror in Worcestershire to bishop, monk and layman. Yet, in order to provide an ancestor for the mother of a *nouveau riche*, the dreaded Urse d'Abetot is turned into "Urso de Hamburie," even as from Hamo de Massy, a great Cheshire baron, there is evolved Hamo de Carington as an ancestor of his father !

I now pass to the earlier fabrication, the famous pedigree produced in the 16th century, which traced the Essex Smiths, not indeed to the Conquest, but to Sir Michael Carington, standard-bearer to Richard I. Although this precious production was a homogeneous whole, it may be analysed, for the purpose of criticism, as consisting of two parts :—

- (1) the Carington pedigree, down to "John Carington,"
- (2) the story of this John's adventurous career and change of his name to Smith.

But let us first consider the source of the story, the document in which the whole of this precious production is contained. The first trace we can find of its existence is in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, precisely the period at which these things make their appearance. It was then in the possession of the Essex Smiths, but there is, we shall find, no reason to suppose that their earlier generations had advanced the pretensions it enshrined. According to a statement by Rouge Dragon, a herald, (A.D. 1602), made in his official capa-

city, "two ancient writings" were shown by Sir John Smith (of Baddow), the most notable man that the family produced, to Cooke, Clarencieux King of Arms, who thereupon drew up "an historical Pedigree"... "agreeing verbatim" with them, 20 May, 1577.¹ According to Dugdale, Garter King of Arms, Dethick as Garter and Cook as Clarencieux had attested the descent from Sir Michael de Carington "from the credit of an ancient Manuscript", which belonged in their time (1586-1592) to Henry Smith of Cressing Temple, Essex,² who was of another branch. Now Henry's heirs were the Nevills of Holt, and in their charter chest, when examined in 1870 for the Historical MSS. Commission, there was found a document which was thus briefly described by Mr. Horwood in his report :—

There is a pedigree on vellum (16th century) of the Carringtons of the North. This is a very interesting document. The pedigree ends with Sir (*sic*) John Carington who died A. D. 1446 and contains a copy of his own statements to his wife Milicent ; it is in old English and the phraseology and spelling show that it must have been copied from a document of the 15th century. Sir (*sic*) John was a partisan of Richard II, etc., etc.,³

This description is quoted by Dr. Copinger (with the unfortunate omission of the words "16th century"), and most fortunately he has printed *verbatim* the latter part of it, containing the alleged narrative of John Carington *alias* Smith.

Fortunately also, this narrative was printed in

¹ Harl. MS. 1500, fos. 102-3. Compare Dr. Copinger's book, p. 152.

² *History of Warwickshire*, p. 570.

³ Appendix to 2nd Report on Hist. MSS. p. 94.

an out-of-the-way quarter by Sir Alexander Croke ¹ from Dugdale's original transcript, of which only a modernised version is given in his *Warwickshire*. In that transcript it is headed :

This historical discourse, wth. the arms depicted in the margents of the petigree of the Caringtons of the North parts of England, is truely coppied from two other : the one in the custody of Wm. Smith, of Cressing Temple, ² Com. Essex, Esq. certified under the hand of Sir. Wm. Dethick, Knt. Garter, th' other wth. Sir Chas. Smith ³ of Wootten and Ashbye, in the countyes of Warwick, and Leicester, knt., under the hand of Robert Cooke, Clarenceux [A. D. 1577], and Wm. Smith Rougedragon. ⁴

As both these transcripts are verbatim, their texts can be collated, and we are now, therefore, in a position to decide the worth of the story. The case for the defence is known : the cross-examination can begin.

Let us give Dr. Copinger's own description of his document (p. 72) :—

This pedigree was copied 1st September, 1870, from a large sheet of parchment in the Charter Chest of the Nevills of Holt, by A. J. Horwood, Assistant under the Keeper of the Public Records. Its title is — "The Pedigree and Exploits in Foreign Countries of John Carington, Armiger, as related by himself to the year 1404."

The first part consists of a blazon (*sic*) of fifteen shields of arms in colours belonging to his ancestors and their alliances.

¹ *Thirteen Psalms... with other documents* (Percy Society), 1844, pp. 67-74.

² He held Cressing from 1612 to 1630.

³ Succeeded 1629. Created Lord Carrington 1643.

⁴ "From a copy temp. Car. I. found among the papers of Sir William Dugdale communicated in 1824 by Mr. Hamper of Birmingham." See further, for Rougedragon's pedigree (1602), p. 150 below.

Then follows a quaint pedigree commencing with "a belsire ycleped Sir Michael Carington, whome (*sic*) some-tyme was standard berer of King Richarde the first in the holley land."

The Report is very peculiar and was written by the hand of the said John Carington for the information of his wife Millicent.

It is clear the early portion was recorded from memory and tradition, for, although correct in what it states, it omits several very important facts, easily and abundantly authenticated by records still in the Public Record Office, and other unquestionable documents in various Government Departments, to which, of course, John could not appeal.

The details of the early part of the pedigree having been so fully recorded, it is sufficient to commence, with John Carrington's father (p. 72).

At this sentence I call a halt. Dr. Copinger cannot be allowed to evade his difficulty thus. He has, alas, an excellent, but quite another reason for gliding over "the early part of the pedigree." That reason is that this document "although correct in what it states," happens to state a pedigree gravely differing from that which he himself has "so fully recorded" !

I here place side by side the descent given in this document, which I take from (W.Smith) Rouge Dragon's pedigree¹, and that which Dr. Copinger has recorded in his "sketch pedigree" and also in his great chart pedigree and in his text.

¹ Harl. MS. 1500, fos. 102-3. It was known to Dr. Copinger, for he refers to it, on p. 246, as "Pedigree Rouge Dragon, 1602."

DR. COPINGER'S PEDIGREE¹

Sir Michael Carrington, Standard-Bearer
to K. Rich. I. in the Holy Land.

William Carrington.
Son of Sir Michael.

William Carrington

Sir William mar.
Anne, dau. of Sir
Edmund Farnell.

John Carrington.

Sir William Carrington
mar. Katherin Montacute.

Sir Edmund² m.
Katherine dau.
and co-heir of Sir
Thomas Heriott.

THE HERALDS' PEDIGREE¹

Sir Michael Carrington. "Standard-Bearer
to K. Rich. I. Died in y^e Holy land."

..... Carrington.
"Sonne of Sir Michael"

Sir William Carrington, "mar. Ann Dau.
and heire to Sir Edmund Farnell."

Sir Edmund Car- Sir William Car- Sir
rington "m. rington "m. Thomas
Katherin dau. & Katherin sister to Carring-
Heire to Sir William Monta- ton.
Thomas Heriott." cute Erle of Salis-
bury"

² I omit the additional sons given by him as irrelevant to the comparison.

¹ The pedigree was also thus printed in Nichols' *Leicestershire* III, 29.

So the document records but four generations where Dr Copinger records six ; and, what is more, it arranges the individuals in quite different order.¹ Now this matter is vital. The author is on the horns of a dilemma from which there is no escape. Either the "early portion" of this document is "correct in what it states" (as Dr Copinger asserts), in which case his own pedigree is altogether wrong ; or, if his own pedigree is right, there is an end of the document's credit. And on this document all depends : its opening words are the only evidence for Sir Michael's very existence ; its latter portion is the only evidence for the story that a John Carrington changed his name to Smith. The entire 'Carington' descent rests on this document ; if its link breaks, the claim of the Smiths at once crumbles into dust.

My case is that the document is forged, and that the pedigree it contains is sheer invention, false at the beginning, false in the middle, and false at the end. And this I propose to prove by overwhelming evidence.

Ostensibly, of course, Dr Copinger accepts its statements as "correct" ; nor would his readers imagine that he had to reject any of them. It is only the lucky existence of Rouge Dragon's transcript of it that enables us to discover how materially its pedigree varies from his own and that also reveals the source of the story that Sir William Carrington fought at Sluys (1340) and shortly after became blind. The story comes from the

¹ i. e. by making Sir Edmund an elder brother of Sir William, who "married Katherine Montacute," instead of a younger brother of his grandfather.

spurious document and is thus given by Rouge Dragon.

This Sir Wm. Carrington served K. Edw. 3, in his warres against the Frenchmen at ye Battaill of Sluce upon the sea, an^o 1340, where he was sore scalded in his face with hott water and lost one of his eies. And shortly after lost the other also, living afterwarde many yeares blind.

Dr. Copinger repeats the story thus :

Sir William de Carington, ' Chyvaler ', son and heir of John and Sibella (Rixton) was knighted by Edward III at the battle of Sluys, Flanders.....

After some ' padding ' about the battle, the author proceeds—

In this battle, Sir William was sore scalded in his face with hot water that (*sic*) he lost the use of one of his eyes. It is said that shortly afterwards he lost the use of the other eye also, but this is not at all probable in view of the actions in which he bore a prominent part up to the year 1378 (p. 34).

Quite so ; but, unfortunately, the author is discreetly silent on the source of his information. His readers, therefore, cannot know that the statement he rightly questions is derived from that spurious narrative which he has professed to accept as " correct in what it states. "

Again, according to the spurious narrative, this Sir William was *not* the " son and heir of John and Sibella (Rixton) ", but the second son of Sir William and Anne (Farnell). The author silently rejects this statement in his document, and yet leaves his readers to believe that it is quite " correct in what it states. "

I have here anticipated somewhat in order to throw light on Dr. Copinger's treatment of his all-important document. We will now return to the person with whom its narrative begins, that "bel-sire ycleped Sir Michael Carington," who was standard-bearer to Richard I in the Holy Land. With this distinguished man, the pride and joy of his house, we ought to be on sure ground. From him, according to Dr. Copinger, a continuous pedigree of the family is recorded in the Heralds' College; and, although I am assured by the highest authority that this statement is contrary to fact, he does at least head the pedigree "under the hand of Cook (*alias* Clarendieux) King of Arms" (1577), which was afterwards (1602) accepted and carried further by Rouge Dragon, as we have seen. And when (1644) that gallant soldier Sir John Smith received a state funeral in Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, with his brother, "the lord Carington," as chief mourner, Somerset herald officially proclaimed his descent at the grave-side:—

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto his Divine mercy the valiant and most worthy gentleman, Sir John Smith Knight (descended of the antient family of Carington, from Sir Michael Carington, standard-bearer to King Richard the first in the Holy Land)".¹

If "the College" disclaims any corporate responsibility in the matter, there is, I have shown, at least good heraldic testimony to the existence of Sir Michael, the standard-bearer. We cannot,

¹ From *The Life of Sir John Smith*, Oxford, 1644, reprinted by Dr Copinger in *History and Records of the Smith-Carington family*.

therefore, be surprised that he even figures in the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, within whose jealously guarded portals—as the champion of the Heralds' College, Mr. Fox-Davies, might express it—there “cluster our national valhalla.”¹ In that work we read, under “Carrington, Sir Codrington,” that he “was descended from an old Norman family, one of whom, Sir Michel de Carrington, was standard bearer to Richard Cœur-de-Lion.”

Yet, in my belief, “Sir Michel de Carrington” never existed in the flesh; he is a personage as wholly mythical as that Sylvester de Grimston, standard-bearer to William the Conqueror, whom the heralds placed at the head of the Grimston of Grimston pedigree, and whose existence is recorded in the patent of creation granted to Lord Verulam's ancestor. Nay, ‘Sir Michel’ is as purely fabulous as that Hamo de Carington who, we have seen, is placed by Dr. Copinger at the head of the Smith-Carington pedigree, or that “Hambrusch,” the Saxon chief, with whom he heads the pedigree of Hanbury.²

Although unable to produce one scrap of evidence from any chronicler or record of the time, public or private, for Sir Michael Carrington's existence, Dr. Copinger is able to devote to him more than three of the great pages of his book (pp. 15-18). This feat is the more remarkable because even the spurious document tells us no more than that he

¹ This memorable phrase on the clustering habit of the valhallum (?) is taken from *Armorial Families* (1st Edition), p. xxiv: “We are proud of that corner of Westminster where cluster together our national valhalla.”

² See p. 145 above.

died in the Holy Land, standard-bearer to Richard I. Oddly enough the name of the King's real banner-bearer (*vexillifer*) on this crusade is known ; he was Henry Tyes (*Teutonicus*.)¹ One cannot but congratulate the author on the admirable principle of his work. He tells us in his introduction that—

The disclosure of facts and verification of evidence have been his main objects. Facts he has allowed to speak for themselves, and has not written up the subject, or by inserting what he deemed unnecessary disquisitions swollen the volume beyond due proportions.²

We apply this principle to the long account of Sir Michael which meets us early in the work and find that, as there are no facts, unfortunately, concerning him, it is written up by such statements as that "it seems fair to assume that the Standard Bearer whom Cœur de Lion chose to take with him to Palestine, in the good ship 'Esnacche (*sic*) Regis,' was a man after his own heart," and it is swollen by inserting a lengthy extract from the Pipe Roll of 2 Ric. I and another from the history of "John, Lord de Joinville," neither of which refers, in any way whatever, to Sir Michael.

This, in short, is mere padding, and—which is much more serious—padding somewhat disastrous to the learned author's reputation. For, although we read of Jean de Joinville's "interesting description of the Standard as displayed in the Holy Land" that "it is in Chapter 10 of Book IV," we recognise that description as referring to the

¹ See the *Itinerarium*.

² These proportions, it will be remembered, are 15 ins. × 11 in., and 4 ins. deep, and nearly 17 lbs. in weight.

battle of Arsuf in 1191, long before Jean was born ! Not till the 14th Century did the Sire de Joinville compile his memoirs, and Dr. Copinger may rest assured that his recollections did not include a battle fought in the twelfth ! The real source of the description quoted is, of course, familiar to historians.

And I have something more to say of this “interesting description of the standard.” The only reason, obviously, for thus dragging it in is that “Michael de Carington” is alleged to have been “standard bearer” to Richard I. at the time. But how is “the standard” described ? Here is Dr. Copinger’s version :—

The Normans defended the standard, which we do not consider it irrelevant here to describe. It was formed of a long beam, like the mast of a ship ; made of most solid ceiled work on four wheels ; put together with joints, bound with iron, and to all appearance no sword or axe could cut or fire injure it. It is very properly drawn on wheels, for it is advanced when the enemy yields, and drawn back if they press on, according to the state of the battle.

Now does the learned author really suppose that this was the “standard” his hero bore when he went into battle ? And, if not, why is this description thus dragged in ? To support such a structure—“a car surmounted by a tower as high as a minaret”, as Bohâdin (the Arabic historian) describes it on the same occasion—would baffle the skill of a professional tumbler or even of the strong man of a modern music-hall. Would Dr. Copinger imply that Sir Michael was a man of

superhuman strength, while proudly allowing the facts "to speak for themselves"? The true explanation, it is to be feared, is that he was quite ignorant that "the Standard," as it was then termed, the great mast on a wheeled platform, which formed the rallying point in battle and gave its name to "the battle of the Standard" (1138), was quite distinct from the King's banner, which is what Sir Michael would have borne, had he ever existed and had he really acted as *vexillifer regis*.

Not content with expanding, in the case of Sir Michael himself, the bald statement in the spurious narrative, the author weaves about it a perfect web of conjecture,—or should we say of "facts"? His alleged father, for instance, sells "full half of the Parish of Sale, near Manchester," because

The proceeds of this sale were required to equip Adam's son Michael, with his retinue, in a fit and proper manner to fulfil the very important office for which he had been appointed, being that of Royal Standard Bearer to the English army in the third Crusade.

We read further, under Adam de Carington, that

The Manor of Carington being only four miles from Warrington, tradition favours the belief that Hubert Walter recommended Michael de Carington to the notice of the lion-hearted Richard, which led to his appointment as Standard Bearer to the King.

Viewed as a family speculation, the third Crusade was a failure.

Very little remained after two years to compensate for the loss of Sir Michael de Carington's life, and the squan-

dering of the proceeds of half the parish of Sale, except a report in the Archives of the Heralds, and an effigy¹ in St. John's Church, Chester, so it is not surprising to find that the first very costly Crusade was not repeated by the family.

Why has not the author given us this "report"? It should prove of the highest interest to historians, the more so as Heralds' college was not even founded till nearly three centuries after the date of the Crusade.

Dr. Copinger does not allow us to forget that the family has always done the thing well, and quite regardless of expense, whether in the days of Richard I or in our own. His readers will learn of the "costly overhauling" of Ashby Folville church roof some years ago, of the "efficient hot water apparatus furnished by Mr. Carington," of the "handsome stained glass window inserted" in the tower, of the "handsome balustrading" which helps to impart "an imposing appearance" to the hall, and of "four figures being paid" for a single addition to the stud, for which "no expense was spared... no capital stinted." One is reminded by the author's opulent style of that immortal work, *Sandford and Merton*, in which Harry Sandford, when privileged to visit the wealthy Mr. Merton's seat, "was carried through costly apartments,

¹ This appears to be identified as that of a crusader on the ground that just enough remains of the legs "to show that they had been crossed"—a long exploded error. But so eager is Dr. Copinger to discover some real trace of Sir Michael Carington's existence that he rashly writes: "the curious chain armour and long surcoat are peculiar to the period 1190-92; the effigy in Salisbury cathedral of William Longepée Earl of Salisbury, half-brother to Richard I, is an excellent example of this body armour" (p. 18). As Earl William did not die till 1226, the statement that his effigy shows us the armour peculiar to the period 1190-92 appears singularly unfortunate.

where everything that could please the eye or contribute to convenience was assembled," while "the very plates and knives and forks were silver." And this sumptuous record of the family and its glories must have also been produced at a heavy cost. The same lavish spirit had animated Sir Michael on his crusade, for we read of his alleged sons that—

These two brothers may have thought that the loss of their father's life,¹ together with a great landed estate (half of the parish of Sale), with an enormous amount of costly supplies, and many followers with their equipment, for the King's service in war, might justly excuse the payment of any further 'aid to the King' for that time.

What, then, was the amount of the 'aid' against which they might claim to set the enormous sacrifices of their house? It was *two shillings from each*. The passage quoted above follows immediately on the words:—

Mathew de Karington, son of Sir Michael, is on the same 'De Oblatis Roll' [of 1220], disseised of two solidos in aid of the King. "Matheus de Karington debet duos solidos pro eodem".

Now Dr. Copinger is a Professor of Law; and "disseised" is a legal term. One would really like to know what meaning, if any, he attaches to the phrase he has employed. One may also enquire why the word *debet* should receive this strange rendering. And why, oh! why was there no one at hand to explain to the learned author that *solidus* was Latin for a shilling?

¹ Nearly 30 years before!

We have seen that "John, lord de Joinville" is cited by Dr. Copinger for a description, which his work does not and could not contain, of a 'standard' which Sir Michael de Carington did not and could not bear, even if that eminent man had ever existed in the flesh. For the siege and fall of Acre authorities are likewise cited. Between 'Dart's Canterbury' and 'Haydn's Dates, etc.' we find snugly ensconced 'Bohn's Richard I.' One does not recognise Bohn as the name of a medieval chronicler; but as that of a Victorian translator it seems strangely familiar. But his valuable assistance, unfortunately, was lacking for the record which contains the words *debet duos solidos*.

If I have handled severely such use of authorities as this, it is not without a cause. This work proclaims itself at the very head of its prospectus as "of great genealogical and historical interest;" it is boldly described in the same prospectus as being "of very considerable general historical importance." Its 'historical' value and character have now been made manifest; of its "genealogical interest" it is enough here to say that, having based the very existence of Sir Michael de Carington the standard-bearer on the spurious narrative alone, the author proceeds to endow him with a father and two sons, not one of whom is so much as named even in that forgery itself! What then becomes of his boast at the outset that "each descent is fully verified," a boast which the prospectus of the work is careful to repeat?

But we must hasten on towards the episode on which everything turns, the alleged exchange by

John Carington, heir-male of the 'standard bearer' and head of the Cheshire house, of his surname for that of Smith *circ.* 1404.

I have dealt above ¹ with the author's treatment of the pedigree connecting 'Sir Michael' with John, and have shown that, while relying on its unsupported testimony as sufficient evidence, he has no hesitation, notwithstanding, in tacitly rejecting certain of its statements. In short the narrative he produces is simply a 'blend' of his own, in which the evidence of records is mixed up with the statements, however contradictory to it, of the forged narrative. This is what I have often denounced as the practice of putting, genealogically, new wine into old bottles. We can deal with pedigrees based on records: we can also deal with pedigrees based on spurious narratives. But, like oil and water, the two will not combine; and when it is attempted to mix them up, the result is chaos. The alleged double marriage of Sir William de Carington would alone be sufficient to prove it.

To that marriage I now turn. We have seen above how Dr. Copinger had no hesitation in altering the pedigree given in the spurious narrative, while inserting, on the authority of that narrative alone (though we are left to discover that it is so), such 'facts' as that Sir Edmund de Carrington was "in ye daies of King Edward II at ye battail of Strivelin (Stirling) Scotland (1314) where the said Sir Edmund was sore wounded, yet escaped with lyffe, but dyed shortly after." The

narrative assigns him for father Sir William Carington, who married Anne Farnell, and states that this Sir William was knighted by Edward I, "in whose time he died." Dr. Copinger accepts the marriage and the knighting, but makes him an elder brother of Sir Edmund and does not allow him to die till "about 1334."¹ Of Sir William, whom he makes his grandson, Dr. Copinger accepts from the narrative his presence at the battle of Sluys (1340) on which he descants, but discredits, as we have seen, its story that he became blind "shortly after." It is however in dealing with his marriages that the 'blending' system, as I have termed it, is at its best.

For this Sir William was a real man, and he had a real wife, Maud de Arderne, and Dr. Copinger has no difficulty in finding plenty of record evidence of both of them, the first document mentioning the wife being apparently of 1357.² But for any other wife not a single record can be vouched. The spurious narrative, however, ignores this real wife and substitutes for her "Katherin sister to Wm. Montacute Erle of Salisbury," whom it makes the mother of his son and heir, Sir Thomas. What then does Dr.

¹ Edward I. died in 1307.

² On p. 36 we read that "This Sir William de Carington was a defendant conjointly with Matilda or Maud (his second wife) in a plea of trespass in 1357 (31 Edward III)", and on p. 43 that "Matilda, second wife of Sir William de Carington, in 1358, joined with him in a grant.... This grant proves that Matilda was married in or before 1358". Yet on p. 35 (in its due chronological place) we learn that "In 1351 (*sic*) John the son of Edward Warren enfeoffed Sir William Carington, knt. and Matilda his wife in all the messuages etc.... which he inherited on the death... in the 45th year of the reign of King Edward the 3rd" [i.e. 1371-2!]. But on reference to pp. 37, 43, this is found to be one of the careless blunders in this book, the deed being clearly much later than "1351".

Copinger do? He calmly adopts, we discover, *both* wives, making Sir William marry first "Lady (*sic*) Katherine de Montacute," and then take Maud de Arderne as his second wife!

This alleged Montacute connexion is very precious to the author; it enables him to "spread himself," one might say, on that alliance (pp. 41-2, 47-8), and to drag in "the Feast of the Round Table" in 1344, "the beautiful sentiments and grand rules of chivalry," "the coats and hose of gentlemen," their "long-toed boots," and other "gay things."¹ In fact, the subject is "written up," to quote Dr. Copinger's phrase,² in the most approved fashion. He even ventures on the daring assertion (p. 41) that "This Sir William de Carrington adopted the three lozenges³ in honour of his wife, Lady Katherine de Montacute, whose family arms were Argent, three lozenges in fesse gules"⁴—a statement which I have seen nowhere else, but which is doubtless highly gratifying to Sir William's alleged descendant, who can reflect on the noble origin of his coat as often as he sees it proudly swinging in front of his village public-house.

Now the mother of "Lady Katherine," Dr. Copinger observes, is commemorated by what is still "the most highly valued sepulchral monument in Oxford." And "in 1346"⁵ this lady, as

¹ This phrase is taken from the description of Elizabethan England by Harrison, who tells us how the Heralds, in their grants of arms, "do of custom pretend antiquity and service, and many gay things".

² See p. 155 above.

³ On the bend in the Carington arms.

The real heraldic expert would not accept 'lozenges' as the right blazon in the Montacute coat, but it is the one usually given.

⁵ The date is given in the cartulary as 16 Feb. 1347/8.

he explains, founded a chantry there for the souls of herself and her relatives, whom she names, one by one. Among these were her four sons and her six daughters. *And among the daughters we seek in vain for the name of "Lady Katherine."*¹ But surely this, it will be said, cannot have been known to the author. If not, it is strange that he should give a lengthy abstract of the document, in which he names, one by one, the four sons, and then—breaking off—adds "and the daughters likewise." Had he similarly named the daughters, the absence of "Lady Katherine" could not have escaped notice. It is Dr. Copinger's claim that "the disclosure of facts and verification of evidence have been his main objects." They are mine also.

In short, I do not hesitate to say that "Lady Katherine de Montacute," her marriage to Sir William, and her children² are all alike fictitious and sheer inventions of the man who forged the spurious narrative. It might, one would think, have aroused suspicion that her alleged brother, the earl of Salisbury, died in 1344 aged 43 (p. 47), while the first certain mention of her alleged husband in a record is in 1357 (p. 35), in which year he was already married to Maud de Arderne.³

The fact is that the forger was wrong throughout

¹ *Cartulary of St. Frideswide's* (Oxford Hist. Soc.) II, 9. No reference is given by the author.

² Sir Thomas is a real man, but he was not her son.

³ On pp. 34-5 and 48 there is cited (but only from a "note by Randle Holme") a warrant to supply Sir William de Carrington and Thomas de Carrington with necessities for warre", which is assigned to 1348; but there is clearly some mistake in the date. For Thomas is not again found in any record here quoted till 1374, and he and his father were setting out to war together as late as 1378. Moreover, John de Carington, the alleged *grandfather* of Thomas, was defendant with William his son in 1348, and was living at least as late as 1350 (p. 31).

in his chronology. He made both Sir William de Carington and Sir Thomas his son live rather earlier than they actually did. And he made, we shall see, the same mistake in dealing with the famous John, Sir Thomas' alleged son.

But let us begin in the next generation, as Dr. Copinger would have us do, holding that "it is sufficient to commence with John Carington's father," Sir Thomas Carington.

The supposed "John Carington" is made to give us a chronological sketch of his father's life, in which are found two statements that, on Dr. Copinger's own showing, are false :—

- (1) He places his father's marriage after his grandfather's death and before the Black Prince's expedition into Spain in 1367.¹ But on Dr. Copinger's own showing, John's grandfather Sir William did not die till 1378.
- (2) He definitely states that his father received leave from the Prince, after the Spanish expedition (i. e. in 1367), to return to England for his health (which was quite broken) and "leven all the remnante of his dayes in London and there nigh aboute and decessed in London in the sixth yeare of King Richarde the Seconde" [1382-3.] Dr. Copinger accepts this statement on p. 52, where he writes that Sir Thomas died in 1383 after living "about 14 years in London and there nigh about." Yet he himself has shown on the three preceding pages (49-51) that Sir Thomas,—the supposed broken man as early as 1367, with "over mickle gout and rheumatism" and suffering "anguishe and paynes,"—was, on the contrary, actively going

¹ "did live long a bacheller, and *after his father deye*n hem sould mickle landes to payne hes debtes for him spent mickle in Gasconye... which [*? while*] his father leven, and at length spoused Margaret Roos, daughter of Sir Robert Roos, and at suche tyme as Prince Edward gone into Spayne" etc. etc.

beyond the seas on the King's service,¹ and, when in England, duly occurring, not in London, but in Cheshire!

In fact the supposed narrator, John, is altogether at sea as to his father's life. He makes the active career of Sir Thomas close in 1367, after years spent in Gascony, while that of the real Sir Thomas, according to records, did not even begin till 1374 and continued to 1383.

As to his alleged brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Wake, the statement placed in the mouth of "John" is demonstrably false. He is made to say that his father, Sir Thomas, having been left by the Black Prince in "Rovergne" as seneschal in 1367, induced the Prince, on the ground of his broken health, "for his love," to "make Sir Thomas Wake, whome long beforen hade espoused his sister Katerine Carington, Seneschall of Rovergne in his rome." Now Mr. Stevenson has called my attention to the fact that Sir Thomas Wake actually was seneschal of Rouergue in 1369, a fact which he thinks the rascally romancer got from Berners' Froissart, as the curious spelling 'Rovergne' is also found in that work. But Sir Thomas Carington is nowhere mentioned as seneschal, and the idea of connecting him with Wake was probably suggested by an entry in the *Fædera*²—several years later—which records letters of protection for him and for Sir Thomas Wake of *Blisworth*³ as going beyond sea in the King's service.

¹ This, it will be seen, is exactly parallel with the forger's other blunder in making his father, Sir William, go blind (see p. 152 above).

² i.e. now printed in the *Fædera*.

³ I italicise this as identifying the Sir Thomas Wake in question. For the chart pedigree makes Katherine Carington marry Sir Thomas Wake of "Cottingham"!

The mention of Sir Thomas Wake reminds me that, as I observed above, the fictitious Katherine Montacute is provided with fictitious children by Sir William. They are thus set out in the Herald's pedigree :¹

Sir Thomas Carring- ton <i>m.</i> Margarett dau. of Sir Robert Roos.	Michaell Carring- ton died in Spaine.	Ellin <i>m.</i> to John Curson.	Katherine <i>m.</i> to Sir Thomas Wake.	Anne a Nonne.	Isabel <i>m.</i> Sir Nicholas Faring- ton.
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and there is a separate notice of each in Dr. Copinger's book. It is not possible to discover from his pages the source of his information about Michael, but Rouge Dragon's pedigree again enables us to trace it to the spurious narrative. We there read of Sir William that "His yonger son Michaell was taken prisoner in the fight on the sea beffore Rochell (with y^e Erle of Pembroke) and carried into Spaine where he died." This statement follows immediately on the false story of his father's blindness.

The daughters' marriages are not to be found in authentic pedigrees of the families concerned ; but of the eldest we shall hear again. Her husband is expanded by Dr. Copinger into "Sir John Curzon, knt., of Kettlestone (*sic*), co. Derby,"—his playful way of spelling that Kedleston, from which Lord Curzon takes his title.

¹ See p. 147 note ¹ above.

The alleged wife of Sir Thomas Carington may be quite as fictitious as his mother, his brother, his sisters, and perhaps, his heir. For the existence of all alike depends on the spurious narrative alone; and we are now discovering what its evidence is worth. The deliberate invention of wives—at times with impossible or grotesque names—was a regular practice of the pedigree-maker in the days of his greatest triumphs. A particularly choice example is afforded by the pedigree of Clervaux of Croft from the 1612 visitation of Yorkshire.¹ Of eight generations from the Conquest five are remarkable for their matches. In one the wife is ‘Amaretta,’ daughter of ‘Dominus’ Nevill de Hornby; in a second, she is ‘Oswalda,’ daughter of Adam Brus; in a third ‘Timothea,’ daughter of John Gascoigne; in a fourth ‘Herodia,’ daughter of ‘the Lord Marmion’; and in a fifth, by a crowning effort, ‘Jamathela,’ daughter of John Nesom of Nesom! Either the pedigree-maker was jesting at his patron’s expense, or the latter craved for ancestry of even weirder form than the “Hambruch” or the “Iver Appland Jarf” of Mr. Richard Smith—“Carington.”

Dr. Copinger’s treatment of the alleged wife really requires some notice. He thinks (p. 52) she “was probably a daughter of the Sir Robert de Roos, knt.” who “was the son of Thomas de Roos,² third son of William 2nd Baron”, and appends on the opposite page a large chart pedigree, showing what “was most probably the descent.”

¹ According to Foster’s edition of the Yorkshire Visitations, p. 412.

² No such person appears in the chart pedigree.

But in this pedigree her father Sir Robert, "of Gedney, co. Lincs.," is entered, on the contrary, as second son of "Sir James de Roos" son of Sir Robert de Ros.¹ On p. 70 we are given yet another version and read of 'John de Carington':—

John de Carington, second son of Sir Thomas by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Roos, succeeded to the inheritance of Gedney Manor, co. Linc., formerly the possession of his uncle John, Baron Roos, of Hamlake, who died at (*sic*) Brabant in the King's service, the 15 June 1338, or soon after without issue.

This assigns to Sir Robert yet another father, as, we learn, he was brother of the John who died in 1338. But on examining the appendix on "the Roos family,"² we find tolerably clear evidence, though in a disjointed form, that Sir Robert de Roos, of Gedney, who died in December 1381, was son of James de Roos, who was son of another Robert, all of Gedney.³ No John de Roos who died 1338 is to be discovered in this appendix as Lord of Gedney. And what is far more serious is that this appendix does not contain a word to show that John de Carington succeeded—as so definitely stated—to Gedney, a fact which would afford the only evidence of his connexion with the Roos family, and which would be, therefore, of the utmost importance—if it were true.

And so we come to John himself, the John

¹ An *erratum* does not affect this in any way.

² Materials collected by Mr. Richard Smith—'Carington'.

³ As a matter of fact, the descent of Gedney is quite clear. Robert de Ros who held (a third of) Gedney in 1303 (*Feudal Aids*) had been enfeoffed by Simon le Constable (*Wrottesley's Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls*, pp. 21, 63) and was father of James, who held in 1334 and 1346 (*Feudal Aids*), who was father of Robert. The account in the above Appendix is most confusing.

on whom all turns. The allegation is that Sir Thomas, by his supposed wife, Margaret de Roos, had two sons, Edmund and JOHN. Leaving Edmund alone for the moment, we find the spurious narrative beginning its account of John with the statement that he "was nurterede up by Sir John Nevell in tyme of his yougth in Gasconye." Now this at once confirms my view that the forger of this narrative was all at sea in his chronology. For Dr. Copinger asserts that 'John de Carington was born in 1374'; and Sir John Nevill was a famous soldier, who was made Lieutenant of Aquitaine in 1378 and landed in Gascony that year (1 September). His busy stay in that stormy province only extended to the summer of 1381, so that we are asked to believe that the infant John was removed from the Carington nursery at the age of four, shipped off to Gascony to be "nurterede" by a busy general, and trained by him in the King's service to the age, at most, of seven!

Our precious narrative then proceeds:—

and when he was a man, hime servinge Kinge Richarde in thoes cuntereyes with him was nere six and twenty yeares olde, and about thilke seaseone him herringe teydinges how his brother deceased was and eke that he had byn made executore he spede him into Englande and in a whill... becomen Kinge Richarde's sarvante, etc. (p. 73).

We now see how Dr. Copinger obtained his date for John's birth, '1374'. As Richard fell in August 1399, 1374 was the latest date he could assign. It is, as a fact, too late to admit of John's returning and taking service with Richard; but it would have been awkward for the pedigree

to have placed the birth earlier. The forger had not been troubled by this, because, as I said, his chronology was wrong, and he clearly reckoned John, like his alleged father and grandfather, to have been born earlier than they could have been.

But let us continue Dr. Copinger's account of John's career. A great difficulty faced him. The historians of Cheshire and the Cheshire records know nothing of Edmund or of John.¹ After Sir Thomas, who did not die till 1383 (p. 52), the next certain lord of Carington is Sir George de Carington, who was undoubtedly in possession in 1402, and apparently so at least as early as 1397. In order to foist into the pedigree Edmund and John, as required by the spurious narrative, Dr. Copinger alleges that John succeeded as heir to his elder brother Edmund, but that, after he had to flee the country at the end of 1399, the manor was wrongfully seized by his 'uncle' George. That, however, is by no means the story that is told by the spurious narrative on which alone he is dependent for the existence of Edmund and of John. According to that veracious tale, John returned to England, not because he was *heir* to his brother (who, indeed, had two daughters), but because "he had byn made *executore*." Nor does the narrative know anything of his succeeding to the manor or of his uncle supplanting him.

Of Edmund the narrative appended to the heraldic pedigree states that :—

¹ Dr. Copinger does not produce record evidence for the existence of either.

Edmond Carington espoused Jane Ferris, daughter of Sir John Ferris, and was a weeke, feeble man, and este full of maladye, and him levide ever more at whome one his livelihode and heritage. And him lefte his life the one and twentye yeaere of King Richarde and leften ownely two daughters *heritter of his heritage*,¹ to witten, Isabell wedded was unto un esquier ycleped Thomas Nevill and Katheryne wedded was unto ane esquier ycleped John Trayntham whome had all onlye daughters two and sonnes none.

It will be observed that, as I stated, the narrative represents Edmund as leaving his daughters heirs to his heritage, while Dr. Copinger writes, on the contrary, of John that :—

On the death of his only brother, Edmund, without male issue, in 1398, he became the Head and Chief of all the Carington family, and by birth-right Lord of the Manor of Carington.

But, after he fled for his life (1399), we learn :—

His enforced absence from England induced his uncle George... to seize the manor. (p. 78.)²

So far as I can find, the alleged seizure is as purely fictitious as anything to be found in the spurious narrative itself.

With that narrative, and with its spuriousness, I now proceed to deal.

The internal evidence of this narrative affords us two tests by which its genuineness or the reverse can be effectually determined. The first of these is *philological*; the second is *historical*.

A good parallel is afforded by the documents

¹ The italics are mine.

² See also pp. 57-8 and p. I.

which were similarly produced to Cooke, Clarendieux, in 15 Eliz. (1573-4) by Augustine Steward to prove his descent from the royal Stewarts, and were similarly accepted by that egregious herald. In that case the forger chose as his medium what he believed to be Norman French, fearing (Mr. Rye suggests) to venture on English archaisms. The result, however, is now the same, for M. Michel wrote of the pretended grant in 1385 "it is enough to cast the eye on these pretended letters of concession to recognise the *patois* of an Englishman little familiar with the language spoken at Paris at the end of the fourteenth century, and to doubt the fact asserted by the writer."¹ The fabulous Bertie pedigree made its appearance (in Latin and in bastard French) about the same time;² and so did one of the fabulous pedigrees provided for the great Burghley, with its contest for the Cecil arms between Sir John Sitsilt and Sir William Fakenham in the 6th year of Edward III "fairly writ in a French which may be described as Elizabethan Wardour-street of the most sumptuous character."³

Entitled "The Pedigree and Exploits in Foreign Countries of John Carington, Armiger, as related by himself to the year 1404," the narrative purports to have been written by John with his own hand and related (?) to his wife shortly before his death in 1446 at the age of over 70.⁴ The

¹ See, for this forged document and for the whole business, Mr. Rye's papers in *Genealogist* (N. S.) I, 150; II, 34; and my *Peerage Studies*, pp. 131-134.

² See the paper on "the rise of the Berties."

³ See Mr. Barron's *Northamptonshire Families*.

⁴ "Et hæc supra fewerant (*sic*) propria scripta Manu ejusdem Johannes (*sic*) Carington et relata, Erant relictæ (*sic*) uxori ejus nomine Milicentia, Paulum antequam obiit" (p. 76 of Dr. Copinger's book).

English, therefore, should be that of the early part of the 15th century. To me, indeed, it savoured rather of "Ye Olde Englyshe Fancye Fayre," but I duly submitted it to an expert, whose verdict must prove decisive. This was Mr. W. H. Stevenson,¹ who most kindly wrote for me an elaborate report on the subject, which I here append, omitting only certain minute critical points.²

MR. STEVENSON'S REPORT.

It is hardly possible that any one who has studied English philology at all scientifically can believe that the Smith Carrington [narrative] written in the year 14—can be genuine. In the first place the style is not that of the early fifteenth century. One has only to compare it with the later Malory's *Morte Darthur* or with Lord Berners' translation of Froissart, published in 1523, to realise that the literary atmosphere is not that of the time it pretends to be. It is, to say the least, suspicious from the point of view of style. The argument from style may be thought to be largely subjective and therefore not conclusive. Language affords a more satisfactory test. *Here the compilation fails altogether.*³ I do not lay stress upon the sixteenth century forms such as *livelihode* instead of *livelode*, the plural form *folkes*, *coulden* for *coude*, and a few other suspicious forms, such as *spoused*=married, *rheumatism*, etc., since it may be pleaded that these are more or less unconscious modernisations or elaborations by the sixteenth century copyist. *It is the grammar that makes it impossible. There are forms and usages in it that never existed, or could have existed in any English dialect at any period, and it is impossible to explain them upon any other hypothesis than that they are the products of a person*

¹ Research fellow of Exeter and afterwards of St. John's, Oxford.

² Dugdale's transcript (see p. 148) preserves the same peculiarities of language.

³ The italics are my own.

*unskilled in Middle English who was trying, with a most extraordinary lack of grammatical power, to concoct a narrative that should seem, from its deviations from the language of his time, to be the product of a couple of centuries or so earlier. It is a most clumsy performance.*¹

The concoctor has evidently read some Middle English, probably Chaucer. He has noticed a pronoun *thilke*, but has not observed that it was used as a demonstrative, usually an emphatic demonstrative, and he consequently employs it as a mere relative pronoun and even pleonastically in *thilke selfe*, for *thiike* means the same, that very same.... So also he speaks of "the *ilke same* citey". An even worse blunder is the formation of preterites, even singulars, by means of adding the suffix *—en* to the uninflected base of the present tense, e.g. "his father *deyen*", Prince Edward "*gone* into Spayne".... "he *becomen* Kinge Richarde's sarvante and *serven* him", "he *aboden*"..... "him *liggen*" (lies), "his father *leven*" (left).... Third person singular preterite such as *deyen*, *gone*, *maken*.... and third persons plural preterite such as *followen*, *hopen*, *comen*, are impossible formations due to the concoctor's ignorance and his astounding want of a grammatical sense. At no time were singulars formed with *—en*. So fond was he of this termination that he applies it to present infinitives, such as "to payne" (pay, a Romance word),... "to goen," "did letten," "was comen," "to sleyn",... and to the past participles "endytten" and the gerunds "to witten," which occurs several times, and "to done," and he even says "beforen" for "before" and "every wharen" for "everywhere."

Perhaps by way of compensation he uses the equally impossible past participle "slayned" for "slain." Equally absurd and inexplicable is the use of "him," "hem," for nominatives singular and plural instead of accusatives and datives, and in like manner "whome" for "who." Another erroneous usage is that of putting the verb substantive after, instead of before, the participle, as "he

¹ The italics are my own.

comen was," "wedded was," "deceased was," "comen warren," "bow(n)den was," "sprode were" (were spread), etc. In Middle English *mickle* is both an adjective and an adverb: for the latter he uses "mickleye"!... Where he got "hentell" and "hentull" for "until" I cannot guess: they look like mere arbitrary spellings intended to give the composition an air of antiquity... As it is *such an obvious concoction*,¹ it is to be regretted that Mr Horwood should have gone out of his way in an official publication to say that "the phraseology and spelling" show that this precious document "must have been copied from a document of the fifteenth century." Such an observation, which only proves his own incapacity for judging any English philological question, naturally misleads persons disposed to believe in the authenticity of this document, since it is capable of being cited as the deliberate opinion of an expert in historical evidence and as therefore excluding any possibility of forgery, although *the document bears the marks of spuriousness in every line*.²

To these philological criticisms I will only add the observation that the forger is not even consistent in his absurdities. He writes both "ownely" and 'onlye'; he gives us 'hentill,' 'hentall' and 'hentull' for 'until,' while the word "were" appears in the forms "ware," "waren," "warren," "weren," "werren," and "woren"! So also "abeyden," "abiden," "aboden." And in naming towns he writes "a towne... ycleped 'Poole'," "great towne... that highte Treves," "a great city that cleped is Bolonia," "a great towne... called Bizanson," "Amsterdam, a citty³ in Holland," "a town cleped Ipswiche."

With regard, however, to Mr. Horwood, it

¹ The italics are my own.

² The italics are my own.

He also gives this word as "cetye"!

is only fair to remember that, however rash and unfortunate may have been his expression of opinion, he was reporting on a multitude of documents, of which this was only one and he could not be expected to submit it to critical investigation, for which his duties did not afford the time.

Far different is the case of Dr. Copinger. For him this is the one document by which his pedigree stands or falls.¹ Knowing its importance, he has printed in full the narrative it assigns to "John Carington" and accepts its genuineness absolutely. It is needless to dwell on the absurdity of its language as sufficient to have warned him of its nature; for however great may be his ignorance of the history of the English tongue,² he was driven, we have seen, in using this document, to reject evidence which it contained as to pedigree and also as to fact. Why then does he accept its evidence on other points and assert it to be "correct in what it states"? I shall now, however, produce further and conclusive proof that, at the very crisis of the story, its narrative is a reckless fiction.

It will be remembered that the pedigree in the document makes Sir William Carington marry a sister of the earl of Salisbury, by whom he had,

¹ He himself states, in his Introduction, that the "verification of evidence" has been one of "his main objects." How did he verify the genuineness of this narrative?

² I do not throw any doubt on the possibility of this ignorance, for I observe that to the phrase "with wroth and rage him fallen a nigh wode," he appends for 'wode' the gloss '(would)'. 'Wode,' of course, was used by the concoctor as an obsolete word for 'mad'. There is a good instance of its use in the lines on the title pages of the great Fitzwilliam genealogy:—

"No marvell though I be wode
Which am berevid of land and goode."

with Sir Thomas (father of the alleged John), two daughters, Ellin wife of John Curson and Katherin wife of Sir Thomas Wake, and other issue. We subsequently read that, on the retirement of Sir Thomas Carington, the Black Prince "for his love did letten make Sir Thomas Wake, whom longe beforen had espoused his sister Katerine Carington, seneschall," etc. Now Sir Thomas Wake is a known man, head of his house at the time; and his wife was not a Carington, but Alice Pateshull, an heiress.¹

The fictitious 'Salisbury' marriage is introduced to account for the part taken in the plot against Henry IV (Christmas 1399) by the alleged 'John Carington,' he being 'nigh of lyneage of the Earlle of Salisbury.' But it is the 'Curson' marriage that proves the narrator's ruin.

Dr. Copinger tells us (p. 55) that

Eleanor de Carington, eldest daughter of Sir William and Lady Katherine, married Sir John Curzon, knt., of Kettlestone (*sic*), co. Derby, and had issue William Curzon, who, in early life, was a monk at Reading Abbey, but was elected abbot in 1403 of St Osyth, at Chich co. Essex. About a year after his appointment his first cousin, John Caryngton, called on him immediately after his arrival at Ipswich from Amsterdam.

These statements are extremely definite, but I am in a position to state, not only that no such abbot of St. Osyth's as William Curzon is known, but that the abbot of that house in 1403-4 was Thomas of London!²

¹ *Northamptonshire Families* (V.C.H.) p. 320.

² *Victoria History of Essex*, II, 159, 162; and *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry IV, II, 356, 468.

From this there is absolutely no escape. For it is not a question of a mere slip on a point of secondary importance; it is the lynchpin of the narrative that is here withdrawn. The return of 'John Carington' and his adoption of the name of Smith (Smyth) are thus accounted for by the forger :—

"ne durste goe into England hentull at lengthe it beteyden that two freyeris comen out of Englande and eke going to Rome whome for certe geven him to wetten that wone, William Curssone, a younger sonne of a Knighte cleped Sir John Cursone was, and he had byne Abbott of Sant Ooses in Essex a yeaere and more which tydinges was to him great joye for cause this Abbott was a sonne of his fathers elder Suster cleped Elleyne, somtyme wife of Sir John Curson both whom waren deceassed long before. But John Carington bethoughten howe he mowton gett him into Englande without perill... He therefore... changed his name and called himselfe John Smyth, that he mowten by thilke name everye wharen voyden suspecte and perill when he mowten comen into England.....

And one the morowe him yode toward Sant Ooses, where being comen, he offerede him selfe to thilke Abbott whom had nygh forgotten him for cause this Abbott had never sene him ere but once onlye at Reddinge Abbye wheare thilke Abbott was then a monke at what time John Carington camen out of Gasconye. But natheless when thilke Abbott talked with him in secrete he efte sone understode of his streene and lyneage and ded him grettlye welcome, and cherishe and eke him warne not to descryne whom he was.... and not long after did one him bestowe mickell benefittes and ded him after advance to wedlock mickle ye to his contente, and he never fayllen him in his nede, but purchasede and indowede him with fayer landes and livelihode as... yeaeres waren wende aboute. So much he ded him love and like.

As the abbot in 1403-4 was not William Curson, but a wholly different person, it will be seen that, as I stated, the narrative is a reckless fiction. An imaginary John Carington is endowed by an imaginary abbot with a wife who would not have been his to give even if he had really existed.

So all goes. Sir Michael Carington, the gallant standard bearer; the pedigree which, in Dr. Copinger's words, "is taken back.... in a *direct male line* to the Conquest," and of which "each descent is fully verified;" the 'Carington knight' who caracoles as a tail-piece to his Introduction; the 'Carington' arms which adorn his frontispiece and to which he assigns "the place of honour"; the "facts he has allowed to speak for themselves," (p. 2)—they all go; and nothing henceforth remains of 'the great Carington imposture' but Lord Carrington's title and surname, and the Royal Licence so strangely granted to the "Smith-Carington" family in 1904 to bear the name their father had "assumed in accordance with a tradition in the family" (p. 373.).

I am wrong. There remain also Dr. Copinger's book and those arms with which Ashby Folville has been bespattered by its possessors, from "the public house" (p. 423)¹ to the "communion plate" (p. 448).

On those arms I have much to say and we may here fitly examine the whole question of the heraldry. The old coat of the Cheshire Caringtons, which

¹ "The public house was completely rebuilt" is all that the text tells us. But a photograph reveals the fact that "The Royal Oak" as it was named, has been re-christened 'The Carington Arms' (!) and that in front of it swings a signboard with the offending arms in the "place of honour".

has thus been assumed, as their first “quarter,” by the “Smith-Carington” family, has never been in doubt. It is “sable, on a bend argent three lozenges of the first,” as is proved by the “Ballard” roll (temp. Ed. IV), by drawings of the windows in Bowdon church (1530), and by a seal of William (de Ca)ryngton which Ormerod stated, in 1816, was affixed to a charter of 47 Ed. III (1373-4).¹ On this seal Dr. Copinger comments that “The date of the charter 20 Dec. 1374², proves the use of these arms for upwards of 530 years” (p. 41). Now this is a most misleading statement. The ‘Smith-Carington’ family do not appear to have assumed them till late Victorian days, while the Essex Smiths, through whom they claim their ‘Carington’ descent, do not even appear to have ever used them at all!

Has the Heralds’ College officially sanctioned their assumption? I am assured by Garter King of Arms himself that it has *not*. Have bygone heralds sanctioned their assumption by Smiths from whom they claim descent? I am prepared to urge that they have *not*. In ‘Burke’s *Landed Gentry*,’ indeed, the arms appear in the first quarter, and Dr. Copinger, in his Introduction, argues in defence, not only of the assumption, but of the arms being given “the most important position in the shield”. He writes :—

The present is not a case where a name and arms have been assumed under some clause or provision in the will of a testator requiring the recipient of some benefit

¹ This seal, however, does not show the tinctures.

² This date is not compatible with the regnal year 47 Edw. III.

thereunder to take and assume his own name and arms, nor is it on all fours with cases of a name and arms not properly those of the individual being assumed by him by way of addition ¹ [!]...... It is the case of a reverter from usage to blood and ancestry, so to speak, the name of Carington and the arms having always belonged to each member of the family as a birthright or blood inheritance. Non-user may have prevented or interfered with the actual right of user, but when the Crown stepped in and granted a Licence—not to take something which did not exist and in a sense already appertain and belong to members of the family before—but to use and bear in *presenti*, there was a revival. The Licence to use operated as a reviving etc.... Surely, then, *when under a duly constituted authority, the family revert to its original arms*,² these should be given the place of honour and occupy the most important position in the shield.

With much legal verbiage, as befits a Professor of law, Dr. Copinger argues his point, but omits to mention the essential fact that the Royal Licence (contrary to what is the usual practice) does *not* authorise the family to adopt the arms of the Caringtons and does not even assert their descent from the house of that name³! The family has *not* been authorised by “a duly constituted authority” to “revert to its original arms”, as he is pleased to describe them. The use of the surname alone has received official sanction: the ‘Carington’ arms and pedigree have not received that sanction; and without them the surname, in the language of the schoolmen, is a ‘substance’ without ‘accidents’, a possession which only commemorates ‘the great Carington imposture’.

¹ That is precisely what the case is, so far as the arms are concerned!

² The italics are mine.

³ The Licence is printed on p. 373 of his book.

But these, the old Carington arms, are by no means the only coat assigned to the family by the author. Indeed he speaks (p. 4) of their "having at least at various times borne four different coats of arms", while the great shield which forms his frontispiece actually displays six! After the true Carington coat we have, (2 and 3) two variants thereof; then (4) a coat assigned to a medieval Sir Philip Carington; (5) the coat that was actually borne by the descendants of Sir John Smith (Baron of the Exchequer), and (6) the coat borne by Sir John Smith himself—which was totally different from any of the foregoing. These coats are thus marshalled in accordance with a vicious practice of heralds, who often, when a family had formerly borne a different coat, (or was alleged to have done so) added it, as a quartering, to the coat in use.

Some of the coats enumerated can be disposed of at once. No 2 is No 1 with the colours counter-changed, and seems to be described on p. 41, as "an older tincture (*sic*) used for two centuries previously" to the date of the 1374 charter, the blazon being "argent, a bend sable." But, in the frontispiece, it is shown with lozenges on the bend, which disposes of Dr. Copinger's extraordinary assertion that Sir William "adopted the three lozenges in honour of his wife,"¹ Lady Katherine de Montacute." Coat No. 3 has a curious history, though I cannot find it blazoned or described in this volume. Its blazon seems to be "Argent, on a bend sable three pairs of Fal-

¹ i.e. his fictitious wife. See p. 163.

chions (or scimetars) in saltire or." This was the variant of the Carington coat which, according to Smith, Rougedragon, was allowed by Cooke, Clarencieux, to the descendants of Sir John Smith in 1577, although, as we shall see, they did not use it, nor was it allowed to them at the visitations until at the late Essex visitation (1664-6) it was allowed, but only as a quartering, to the Smiths of Blackmore. It was, as we have seen, entirely distinct from the old Carington coat, which is assumed by the Smith-Carringtons, and, therefore, so far from supporting it, is actually hostile to that assumption.

The fourth coat attributed by Dr. Copinger to the family is soon disposed of. It is separately depicted on p. 26, where it is blazoned as "argent, a lion rampant sable, charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lis, as mark of cadency, showing him to be a sixth son."¹ Apart from the fact that marks of cadency with such definite significance were of far later invention, we find, on investigation, that the reading of the name to which this coat² is attributed is very doubtful. In *Collect. Top. et Gen.* (IV, 67) it is read as Barington, and it was also so read by Cole in his transcript.³ Dr. Copinger gives no record evidence for the existence of a Philip de Carrington, but a Philip de Barington⁴ is known.

¹ The reference given is Harl. MS. 6137, fos. 31b, 33b.

² It is imperfectly blazoned by Dr. Copinger, the lion being a double-tailed one.

³ Add. MS. 5848, fo. 75.

⁴ His name is also given for this coat in Foster's *Some feudal coats of arms*, and Mr. Oswald Barron has been good enough to inform me that the name should be Barington.

Having thus disposed of the four coats borne for 'Carington,' we turn to the two coats contributed to the achievement by Smith. Unlike the 'Carington' coats, these two were actually borne as their arms by those Smiths from whom the 'Smith-Caringtons' claim descent. The first was argent a cross gules between four peacocks proper;¹ the second—a wholly different and a complicated coat which is somewhat variously blazoned—was borne by their founder, Sir John Smith, baron of the Exchequer under Henry VIII.

Now these two coats are of great importance for our story. The second is depicted by Dr. Copinger on p. 119, and blazoned by him as "Argent, on a chevron sable six fleurs-de-lis or, on a chief of the second a lion passant of the first." He admits, on p. 4, that "Sir John Smith, the baron of the exchequer, had not used the arms properly belonging to either the Carington or the Smith family, but a coat of a totally different description,"—as it most certainly was. This, however, is but half the truth. On investigation we discover that Sir John Smith, as "of Cressing", was actually *granted* a coat by Barker, Garter King of Arms (1536-1549), a fact which proves conclusively that he had *not* inherited, as alleged, from his grandfather, the cross and peacocks coat, but knew himself to be a *novus homo* with no hereditary right to arms.²

This discovery is the key to the whole heraldry of the family. On p. 79 Dr. Copinger quotes, as being flattering to the family, the words "a great

¹ Dr. Copinger actually gives the ludicrous blazon: "four peacocks, proper, between a cross of St. George" (p. 76)!

² See below for the blazon of this grant.

heiress" from a long footnote in the *Complete Peerage* of G.E.C. (II, 167), but is discreetly silent as to G.E.C.'s incredulous attitude therein towards the great Carington imposture. Dr. Copinger must also have learnt from that note that this scepticism is of old standing. For G.E.C. cites a significant criticism :—

The following note on this subject is in Vincent's handwriting in 'Vincent's Leicestershire', one of the MSS. in the College of Arms. "I cannot but feare this descent from which y^e Smiths of Ashby Folvill and others of that name derive themselves; because it is scarce known that, upon any occasion, both name and arms should be changed, and Sir John Smith, Knt., Baron of y^e Exchequer gave first [as the armorial ensigns of his family] *Argent, on a chevron sable 6 fleurs-de-lis or; on a chief, of the second, a lion passant of the first*¹ and then, after many years, y^e issue of him gave [as such armorial ensigns] *y^e cross, between 4 peacocks proper*; and now they flye to Carrington *sed quo jure penitus ignoro*.

Dr. Copinger, therefore, cannot plead that the tale he accepts as unquestionably true is one which has never before aroused suspicion.

Starting from the sure ground of the grant to Sir John Smith, we can now enquire how it was that "after many years" (as the above MS. rightly says) his descendants claimed to bear the wholly different coat with the cross and peacocks. So far as I can find from Dr. Copinger's book, the earliest actual occurrence of this coat is on the monument to Sir Francis Smith (d. 3 Sept. 1606) at Wootton

¹ This is exactly the blazon given by Dr. Copinger, which suggests that this note must be his authority for it. For the blazons which will be given below differ from it, especially in giving *two* chevrons, which, indeed, appear on the Crossing monument, as stated by Dr. Copinger himself (p. 191)!

Wawen, Warwickshire. The allegation is that it was adopted by John "Carington," when he changed his name to Smith in 1404;¹ but not only is there no evidence that such arms were in use till a much later date; there is actual proof in the grant to Sir John Smith that his family did not possess these or any other arms at the time.

Dr. Copinger, however, asserts, without citing any authority, that when this "John de Caryngton for the purpose of concealing his identity in 1404 took the name of Smith," he

for the same reason changed his arms also; basing them with noble pride on the arms of his mother's family,² and because he esteemed that connection so very highly, he chose peacocks (the Roos crest) as the principal charge for his crest and arms, crest, a peacock's head proper—Arms, four peacocks proper, between a Cross of St George, to commemorate his descent from Michael de Caryngton, standard bearer to Richard Cœur de Lion in the third Crusade.

I express no opinion on the 'Cross of St. George' theory: it is held by G.E.C. that "an allusion to the descent from the Standard Bearer is *probably* made by the red cross on a white field in the arms and *certainly* in the grant of supporters [1643], the dexter of which is a man in armour supporting a standard (ensigned with the cross of St. George)."³ If this was indeed the origin of the coat, it only

¹ See Burke's *Landed Gentry* and Dimock-Fletcher's *Leicestershire Pedigrees and Royal Descents*.

² This of course, is not so. His mother is alleged to have been a Roos, and the well-known arms of that family (derived from the Trusbuts, their ancestors) show the charge of three 'waterbougets' (trois bougettes) differenced by cadets in the interesting way of the days when heraldry was a living thing.

³ This increases the difficulty of the heralds if they wish to dissociate themselves from any acceptance of the story (cf. pp. 144, 153 above.).

proves that the arms were invented with or after the invention of the standard-bearer in 'the great Carington imposture.'

When this new coat was invented, that which had been granted to Sir John Smith (the founder of the family) was supplanted and had to be disposed of. This was done in exactly the same way as in the case of the Spencer coat. In that case a coat had been granted to the family in 1504, but when their fabulous descent from the Despenchers was invented, in or about 1595, a differenced Despencer coat was adopted and the new coat granted in 1504 was relegated to the second quarter.¹ By precisely the same device Henry Smith of Cressing relegated his grandfather's coat to the second quarter in the monument he erected at Cressing to his wife, who died 5 March '1607.'² In both cases the relegated coat was practically allowed to die out, and everything thus falls into place.

Even the spurious narrative, as cited by Dr. Copinger, does not mention the alleged assumption, in 1404, of the cross and peacocks coat, nor do I know how it came to be accepted by the heralds as the recognised arms of Sir John Smith's descendants. The present family of Smith-'Carington' has now relegated even this coat to the second quarter in order to usurp that of the Cheshire Caringtons in the first. Dr. Copinger, we have seen,³ in his Introduction somewhat cumbrously endeavours to

¹ See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 289-293. And compare p. 16 above.

² See below.

³ See p. 181 above,

justify this usurpation, claiming that their true name is "Carington alone, the Smith name having been assumed and being now retained as something the right to which has been acquired by long user, like as [!] are retained the arms of Smith" (p. 6). We have seen what Dr. Copinger imagined to be the English of the 15th century: let us here pause to admire what he believes to be the English of the 20th. Another inimitable sentence will be found on p. 518, where we read that "the rich heiress but poor creature, Alianore, must have twice been inflicted with twins"!

The adoption of the name of Smith for the purpose of concealing one's identity would hardly seem to require explanation: it occurred, as a matter of course, to the fugitive Louis Philippe. Dr. Copinger, however, gravely suggests an explanation gratifying, probably, to the supposed descendants of the alleged John. Though admitting that the name was "the best no doubt to adopt for the purpose of disguise," he adds that he "can well agree" with Mr. Chesterton's remarks in *Heretics* that—

"It would be very natural if a certain hauteur, a certain carriage of the head, a certain curl of the lip distinguished everyone whose name is Smith... Perhaps it does; I trust so. Whoever else are parvenus, the Smiths are not parvenus.

This is soothing, no doubt, to a Smith; and it suggests that his "certain hauteur" should become in a Smith-'Carington' an unapproachable altitude. But it is rather startling to be gravely told that

John Carington therefore adopted a name to which, according to the interpretation of the author of *Heretics*, the arms were peculiarly appropriate.

Mr. Chesterton is, we know, a master of brilliant paradox; no one is so competent to demolish such old-world beliefs as that two and two make four. But when he claims that the name of Smith justifies a haughty pride, he becomes 'Shavian' in his humour. Only Dr. Copinger, surely, would suggest that peacocks were "peculiarly appropriate" as the arms of John Smith!¹

In his elaborate study and exposure of another ancient concoction—the Wellesbourne-Montfort story—Mr. Payne has observed that

The whole story is a pure fiction and deliberate fraud on posterity. It is the common case of members of a bourgeois family endeavouring to patch up for themselves a pedigree.²

His words apply to the story concocted for the Essex Smiths, and Dr. Copinger has cause to lay them sorrowfully to heart. The Wellesbournes, in their desperate and determined attempt to prove themselves descended in the male line from Simon de Montfort himself, went further than the Smiths. For they did not confine themselves to pedigree and arms, but forged deeds, forged seals, and forged family monuments in the very church itself.³

¹ We are told by him that "In some old coats peacocks 'in pride' are shown but the difficulty of blazoning (*sic*) properly the numerous eyes in each of the expanded tails led to their being depicted with tails 'close'". But the latter only is the charge in the Smith coat, which is against his theory that it was derived from the Roos crest.

² *Records of Bucks* (1896), VIII, 393.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 362-412.

For the benefit of those who may think that I have dwelt at excessive length on a document which affects only families of the name of Smith, I will now prove that this is not so, and that on the foundation of that spurious narrative which I have styled "the great Carington imposture" there has been built up, and accepted as genuine, at least one other great family history. In 1823 Sir Alexander Croke published, in two massive volumes, his *Genealogical history of the Croke Family, originally named Le Blount*. Like that of the Smith-'Carington' family, it claims not only a proved pedigree in the male line from the Conquest, but the actual male heirship of the Conquest ancestor. But it soars even higher. We read in Burke's *History of the Commons* (1833) that

The surname of this family was originally *Le Blount*, and Sir Alexander Croke states that he is now the representative of the senior branch of that ancient house, which had its own origin from the *Blondi* or *Brondi* of Italy. Its patriarchs the *Counts of Guisnes* claimed alliance with most of the royal families of Europe, and counted amongst their progenitors the Emperors and Kings of France, the Kings of Denmark, the Counts of Flanders, and the Guelphs, Dukes of Bavaria (I, 355).

Nor was even this the limit of their antiquity; in an old edition of Burke's *Peerage* we read of this family that "its genealogy is deduced from the *Biondi* or *Blondi* of Italy, whose progenitors are known (*sic*) to have been the *Flavii* of ancient Rome"! One might on the same principle assert that their descendants are the English *blondes*.

"Sir Alexander," we "learn, was proud of the

antiquity and nobility of his ancestors".¹ He wrote of them as "an ancient and illustrious family, originally named Le Blount" whose "ancestors were Counts of Guisnes in Picardy, and derived their pedigree from Sigefrede a Danish prince, cousin to Canute the Great, who landed and took possession of that territory about the year 965."²

The whole pedigree, however, is built up on the assertion that a Nicholas Blount, in 1404, changed his name to Croke, when "John Carington" changed his to Smith, and for the same reason.³ To support this assertion the 'Carington' narrative was adapted, as if its concoctor thought it too good to be wasted on a single family.

In an appendix to Sir Alexander's larger work (Vol. II, p. 810) this adapted narrative is given, as from a manuscript in possession of the family.⁴ It begins with, practically, the same statement as that found in the Carington narrative :

John Carrington second son of Sir Thomas Carrington was brought up by Sir John Nevill in Gascony where he served Richard the second to twenty-five years of age, etc.

We then read of "Captain Blunt of Warwickshire" and find the English exiles named as "Car-rington, Atwick, Newborough, Lindsey, Fitz-William, Blont and other commanders." This differs slightly from the list in the spurious (Smith) narrative, which also speaks of "Richarde (*sic*) Blunte," though the exile's name was Nicholas

¹ *Thirteen psalms*, etc. (Percy Society), 1844, p. viii.

² *Ibid.* p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ It is also printed in *Thirteen psalms* etc.

according to the Croke pedigree.¹ And it is curious that in the Croke version it is not Robert Arden, but Robert Newborough, who accompanies Carrington to Besançon, dies there of a bruise, and leaves him his money. But the narratives give the same version of the exile's return and of the part played by the abbot. John Carrington, in the Croke version—

“ at length met with two fryers, come from England, who told Carrington that William, a younger son of Sir John Curson was an abbot. Now this abbot was a son of his father Carrington's elder sister, wife of Sir John Curson. But he and the rest, fearing to return, because Henry of Lancaster was cruel to all that had taken part against him.... further changed their names... John Carrington called himself Smith... and Blont changed his name to Croke, etc.

Finally, we read that Carrington, having landed near Ipswich,—

on the morrow rid to St. Neses, where he presented himself to the abbot, who had forgot him... however the abbot was glad to see him, and did privately keep him and bestowed on him mickle benefits, advanced him to wedlock and endowed him with fair lands.

This, it will be seen, is simply the story told in the mendacious narrative.

The Croke narrative, however, is no mere copy of it, for, apart from variations in names, and from giving the additional information that “ Fitzwilliams² made his name English and Blont changed his name to Croke,” it also adds the curious statement that

¹ Sir Alexander, accordingly, deemed ‘ Richard ’ an error for ‘ Nicholas.’

² It describes him as “ Wm, Fitz-Williams, a younger son of John Williams of Emly, Ebor.”

Henry ye Fourth being dead, 1413, they boldly adventured abroad to see each other, and having procured their peace, they purchased lands....

Blont or Croke lived most in Bucks at a place called Essendon. His friends Carrington, and Fitzwilliams etc. visited him, and had mickle mirth together.

It would seem that the narrative in this form must be a modernised version.

The Crokes and the Smiths of Cressing had a curiously similar origin, each being founded by a successful lawyer in the days of Henry VIII, who made money and bought land. The respective grandsons of John Croke and of John Smith seem to have thought that it was time to claim a more ambitious pedigree : Smith discovered that he was a Carrington, and Croke that he was a Blount. I cannot but think it possible that in the latter case the name was suggested by the fact that Sir John Croke, speaker and justice of the King's Bench, married in the days of Queen Elizabeth a daughter of Sir Michael Blount of Maple Durham and wished to claim kinship with his wife's ancient house.¹ The marriage must have taken place somewhere about the time when the ' great Carrington imposture ' made its appearance.

I stated that the Croke descent from Blount has been " accepted as genuine " : it appears, indeed, to be unquestioned. In Burke's *Extinct Peerage* (1866) we read under Blount that from Nicholas Blount—

sprang the family of Croke *alias* Le Blount so distinguished in our legal annals, and the Crokes of Studley Priory, Oxfordshire, whose representative, the late Sir

¹ This, of course, is only a tentative suggestion.

Alexander Croke, wrote a very able and elaborate *History of the Blounts*.

In Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1894 it is set forth under Croke; and in Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* it appears to this day under Blount. It has found its way both under Blount and under Croke into the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while the Duchess of Cleveland's *Battle Abbey Roll* (1889), which has much excellent genealogy, not only accepts the tale that Blount changed his name to Croke in 1404, to shelter himself from the vengeance of Henry IV. (I, 153), but even asserts of the name of Blount that :—

by a strange anomaly its actual representatives—the acknowledged heirs of its most ancient line—do not bear it. They are called by the name that was taken by their ancestor Nicholas in the reign of Henry IV, and remain to this day the Crokes of Studley in Oxfordshire.¹ (I, 156).

The cases of Carington and of Blount are thus closely similar.

The change of name in both cases rests on the same fictitious narrative and on that alone; and the two are grouped together by Fuller in his *Worthies*, under 'Surnames,' as instances of such changes in time of civil war. There is, however, this difference: the coat of the Smiths was, we have seen, entirely different to that of the Cheshire Caringtons; but the Croke coat is a Blount one, not, indeed, that of the Blounts of Mapledurham, but that (as stated in the Croke narrative) assigned to a Thomas Blount on more than one roll of arms.

¹ The place has been sold since then.

So much for one of the most elaborate and most impudent fictions which we owe to the countenance and authority of Elizabethan heralds. Of those which yet remain to be exposed a single instance may be given.

Just as a single forged document is advanced as proof that the Smiths were Caringtons with a pedigree running back to the Conquest, so the tale that the Beckwith family changed its name from that of Malebisse, borne by a Conquest house, rests, so far as I can find, on a single forged document. It can hardly fail to arouse suspicion when we read in "Burke's Landed Gentry"—where the pedigree like that of Smith-Carington, is accepted absolutely,—that

Sir Hercules Malebisse.... m. *circ.* 1226 the Lady Dame [*sic*] Beckwith dau. of Sir William Bruce, Lord of Ugglebarnby... and according to the agreement that he should change his name, or else his arms, adopted the former alternative.

For Hercules is a name as absurd for a man as Beckwith for a woman at the time of the alleged marriage; and if the husband had changed his name he would have taken that of his wife's family not her own Christian name! Moreover, on referring to a fuller pedigree,¹ we find it written "in the 'Ercles vein," for the bridegroom was son of another Hercules, whose mother was "a daughter of John, Lord Methley," a peer who must have flourished in the days of Stephen!

We seek, therefore, with some anxiety for the evidence which proves the change of name. The

¹ In Playfair's *Baronetage* I, App. p. x.

worthy Playfair, who apparently would have swallowed any statement that his patrons were good enough to put before him, has happily printed the crazy document which represents that proof. It appears to be intended to represent the record of a suit in the court of chivalry, and the forger was evidently unaware that, though in the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign some such summons to attend an earl marshal's court might conceivably be issued,¹ it must, even if its form were possible, have proceeded from the Constable as well as the Marshal in the days of Edward III.² It would spoil so delightful a document to give it otherwise than in full.

Be it known to all nobles where this present writing shall come be seen or heard : whereas Hammond Beckwith Esq. son and heir of Nicholas Beckwith was warned by the earl marshal of England, by process, that was dated from the aforesaid earl-marshal's manor of Ryseing Castle, in the County of Norfolk, January 18th in the 13th year of the reign of our sovereign lord the king, in the year of Our Lord, 1339 ; that the said Hammond Beckwith should usurp, and take unto him, a coat of arms, which was appertaining unto John, Lord Malbie ; for which better use, by virtue of this process we charge you, that you will appear at the now mansion house, and manor of Saymor, before us, and bring with you all such evidence and records of arms, that we may allow, grant, and set our hands to your teste [*sic*] and posterity for ever. And also, that your appearance shall be the 14th day of October next coming in the aforesaid year above written.

And the said orator did appear at the said day appointed, and did bring with him such evidence ; whereof one

¹ See vol. I, p. 80.

² See vol. I, p. 79-80.

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piece, bearing date from the 10th year of Hen. III, which was in the year of Our Lord, 1226, from one Hercules Malbie, the third son of Sir Symon Malbie Knt. which married the Lady Dame [*sic*] Beckwith Bruce, one of the daughters of Sir William Bruce, lord of Uglebarnby, and certain lands in Pickering; that the said Hercules should change his name, or else his coat, and his posterity for ever; and so it was, that the said Hercules changed his name from Malbie to Beckwith, and did hold his coat;¹ whereof I, the said earl-marshal, Peter Mawlam, lord of de Luke [*sic*], lord chamberlain to our sovereign lord King Edward III, and Henry, Lord Percy, Sir Robert Boynton, Knt. and Sir William Acton did see and allow of it in due proof, and the aforesaid coat to be his own, lineally descended, whereof [*sic*] we have set our hands and seals to the aforesaid teste [*sic*], the day and year above written, in the presence of many.

It is hard to pick and choose among the decisive objections to this amazing document with its strong Elizabethan flavour.² But one may point out that the date of the summons, 18 Jan. 13 Edw. III, would represent the year 1340 (1339 by the then reckoning), and that the earl-marshal who issues it and who attests the result of the trial in the October following had died in 1338. The name of the witness by whom he is followed, "Peter Mawlam, Lord of de Luke," may be traced, perhaps, to a wild misreading of Peter 'de Malo Lacu,' i.e. de Mauley!

¹ This story seems to come from the same mint as the famous and persistent tale that Jocelyn, founder of the second line of Percys, "wedded this dame Agnes Percy upon condition that he should be called Jocelyn Percy, or els that he should bare the arms of the Lord Percy; and he toke the counsell of his syster, and he chose rather to be called Jocelyn Percy than to forsake his own armes.... for so shold he have no right title to his father's inheritance, and so of right the Lord Percy shold be Duke of Brabant, tho they be not so indede" (*Brenan's House of Percy* I, 14). For the utter falsity of this tale see my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 41-2.

² Compare the Cecil document of 6 Edw. III alleged to record a similar transaction (p. 173 above).

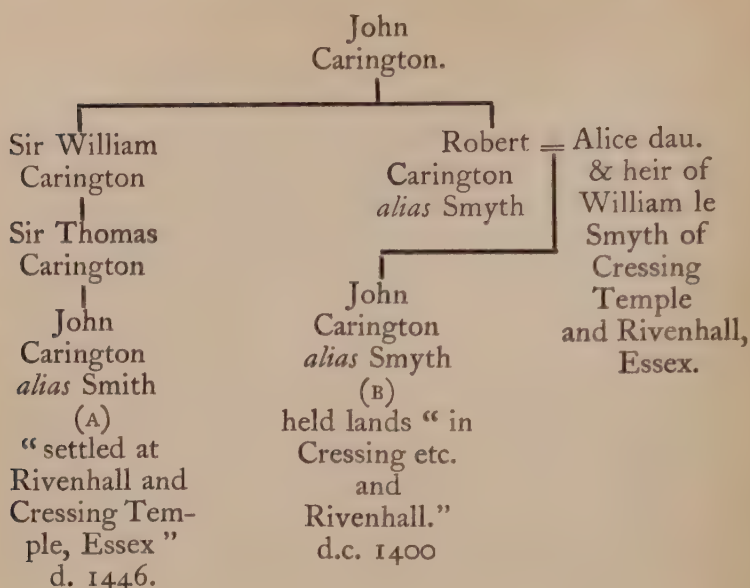
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More than enough has now been said to show that the document supposed to prove that a Malebisse changed his name to Beckwith¹ is a concoction even more absurd than that which proves, in Dr. Copinger's belief, that a Carington changed his name to Smith. This however did not prevent the late Victorian revival of Malebisse as a Christian name by the family or its use of the Malebisse arms.

It is a singular fact, and one which, I believe, was first brought to light by Dr. Copinger's book, that the perpetrators of this huge imposture had two strings to their bow: it is alleged that on two separate occasions Caringtons from Cheshire settled in Essex, and assumed, for different reasons, the same name of Smith! It is strange enough that even one should have done so; but that two did it implies surely that the pedigree-maker had two starters, and was not sure with which he should "declare to win."² Genealogically, these two assumptions by a Carington of the name of Smith work out thus in Dr. Copinger's pages:—

¹ Playfair gave as the chief authority for his account of the Beckwith family "the original pedigree done on vellum, and finely illuminated, which is now in the possession of Sir Roger Beckwith, Bart. and was entered in the visitation of Yorkshire April 9th 1666, at Doncaster, by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms." Dugdale, certainly, seems to have allowed to the family, at the date named, the old feudal coat of Malbys (Argent, a chevron between 3 hinds' heads erased gules), undifferenced (*Genealogist* [N.S.] xvii, 120).

² It is a singular fact that, in what Mr. Payne termed the fourth phase of the great Wellesbourne imposture, the family were similarly uncertain whether Richard de Montfort assumed the name of Wellesbourne as a disguise on coming to live in retirement at High Wycombe or "married a lady named Wellesbourne and took her name and arms" (see p. 190 above).



My own explanation of this pedigree is that it represents two different attempts to derive the Smiths of Rivenhall and Cressing, at the period when they first emerge, from the Cheshire house of Carington.

But let us put my own views entirely out of the question : Dr. Copinger shall here tell his own story. And the story which he tells is a complete exposure, by himself, of his own methods, the more complete, because unconscious. Having lighted on several Essex fines in which a John Smith (or Smyth) figures, he asserts without hesitation that this was John Smith (B), and then, forgetting his own assertion, informs us with equal confidence, a few pages later, that it was John Smith (A) ! Here are his own words :—

(A)

John Smith
alias Carington
 d. 1446.

"He was in 1411 party to a fine touching lands purchased in Feryng, Fordham, Kellvedon, Stistede, Boking, Magna Coggeshall and Parva Coggeshall; and to a fine upon lands in Branketre, Boking and Felsted, co. Essex, levied at Westminster the same year, when he purchased from Richard Downham and Katherine his wife five messuages, four shops and fifty-six acres of land etc.... in the aforesaid places; also in 1424 to a fine touching forty-eight acres of land and four acres of meadow etc., (p. 78).

(B)

John Smith
alias Carington
 d. circ. 1400.

"John Smith was party to a fine of lands in Boank-ehe (*sic*), Boking, and Felsted, co. Essex, levied in 1411 (13 Hen. IV); and in 1414 he purchased from Richard de Downham and Katherine his wife 5 messuages, 4 shops, 56 acres of arable land etc.... The said John was also party to a fine of lands etc. in Feryng, Fordham, Killeredon, etc.,... this last mentioned year.

John Smyth died in or about the year 1400, leaving a son Thomas who was one of the executors of his father's will. (p. 66).

The reader will at once be struck by the reckless inconsistency of making a man who is a party to fines in 1411 and 1414, die "in or about the year 1400." But the point on which I have to insist is this: here are three fines in which a "John Smith" (or Smyth) occurs; without the slightest hesitation Dr. Copinger identifies him on one page as John Smith (A) and on another as John Smith (B). This discovery destroys all confidence in his methods: for it proves that his identifications are made without proof.

As genealogical experts know, identification is

the *crux* on which a whole pedigree may turn ; and in the case of such a name as Smith, proof of identity is vital. To show that two men of the name of John Smith, or of Robert Smith or of Thomas Smith were living at the same time is absolutely no proof whatever that the two men were the same. Yet it is, I contend, in defiance of this elementary truth that the pedigree of the modern Smiths is represented as proved.

It is also by assuming, without proof, the identity of a Thomas Smith in Notts with a Thomas Smith in Essex, and of a John Smith in Notts with a John Smith in Essex that "practically conclusive" proof, as Dr. Copinger terms it, of the ancestry he now propounds for Lord Carrington is obtained.

This, however, anticipates a later stage of the enquiry.¹ Before approaching that stage we must deal with the middle period, the period of the (alleged) connecting link afforded by the Essex Smiths.

THE RISE OF THE ESSEX SMITHS.

The little "thoroughfare town" of Witham, on the great London road between Chelmsford and Colchester, gives its name to a small Hundred, which was sometimes styled, from its size, the "Half Hundred" of Witham. In this Hundred and adjacent to Witham, between it and Braintree, there lay a group of three parishes, Rivenhall,

¹ See p. 218 below.

Cressing and White Notley, which now become the scene of our story. Early in the 15th century we begin, in this group, to meet with a family of the name of Smith, who were small holders of land. One of the earliest records, if not the very first, in which we meet with a Smith who was certainly one of our line, is unknown to Dr. Copinger, as it also was, apparently, to the historian of Essex. It is an entry in the Hedingham feodary relating to Archers, a holding in Rivenhall. This was in the hands of "Thomas Smith" in 21 Hen. VI (1442-3) and also in 6 Edw. IV (1466-7). Another Thomas Smith did homage for it 2 April 1498,¹ and this was quite certainly the "Thomas Smith of Rivenhall in Com. Essex, Esquier" of the heralds' visitation, for the latter's son, Sir Clement Smith, was holding Archers at his death in 1551.² But this throws at once the very gravest doubt on the received pedigree of these Smiths, quite apart from the 'Carington' story. For this Thomas, of the heralds' visitation, is alleged to have been son of the John Smith (*né* Carington) of Rivenhall who died (we are told) in 1446. Yet this alleged son did not even do homage for 'Archers' till 1498, fifty-two years after his father's death! Moreover, we have to account for that earlier Thomas Smith, who was actually holding 'Archers,' we have seen, in

¹ "secundo die Aprilis anno Hen. VII. 13mo Thomas Smith de Rewenhale prestitit homagium suum Johanni tunc comiti Oxon pro terris suis in Rewenhale vocatis Archers."

² "Et super inquisitione capta in com. Essex 30 die Januarii anno 7 Edw. VI inventum est quod Clemens Smith, miles, obiit seiscitus de terris in Ryvenhale in dicto com. vocatis Archers tenement de comite per servicium dimidii feodi militis." Dr. Copinger cites the Inquisition at some length, but does not mention Archers.

1442-3, and 1466-7. It would seem, certainly, that he must have been the ancestor of these Essex Smiths. There is not adduced a scrap of proof that a John Smith was so; and even if he was, it is quite certain that he had never been a Carington.

The ancestor, however, from whom direct descent is claimed is a Hugh Smith said to have been¹ a younger brother of the above Thomas ("of Rivenhall in Com. Essex, Esquire") whose interesting will is preserved in the charter-chest of the Nevills of Holt and is printed in Dr. Copinger's book (pp. 97-8). It was proved 23 May 1486, and is dated the 12th of March previous.

Of this Hugh we read, as a preface to his will, that

Hugh Smith, "of Witham," and of Cressing Temple, son of John de Caryngton or Smith, was seised of the Manors of White Notley, Cressing, Cressing Temple, and half the Manor of Witham, with the advowsons of the Churches of Witham, Cressing, and White Notley, and lands in Rivenhall, all co. Essex.

This is impressive enough, but alas! we have only to turn to a county history of Essex to learn that Hugh was *not* seised of any of the manors named or of the advowsons either. It is only Dr. Copinger's picturesque manner. As for "half the manor of Witham," I had infinite trouble to discover what this might be. At last I realised that, the *Hundred* of Witham being sometimes spoken of as a "half Hundred," Dr. Copinger must first have altered this into something quite different, namely, half the Hundred of Witham; then have

¹ I do not challenge this statement.

altered "half the Hundred" into "half the *manor*"; and, finally, have quite erroneously, assigned its possession to Hugh. That, no doubt, is one way of writing family history.¹

When we turn to the will itself, which immediately follows this statement, we find this alleged lord of manors and patron of advowsons giving himself away at the outset by desiring to be buried "in the Chirch yerde," a sure mark, at that time, of inferior social *status*. The testator, who makes bequests of single cows, was apparently a yeoman, well to do, for he could leave his daughters, as a marriage portion, £10 cash, and to his son, on coming of age, £6.13.4. a year in land. My conclusion as to his *status* is confirmed by two contemporary deeds unknown to Dr. Copinger. The first is of 8 April 1465 and is a feoffment to a knight, two "esquires," one "gentilman," and "Hugh Smyth and Edmond Moone² of Witham"³ and the second, *temp.* Henry VII, relating to this feoffment, speaks of him as then deceased. It is clear from this evidence that Hugh could not claim even the lesser style of "gentilman."

¹ It illustrates Dr. Copinger's almost incredible confusion, that on p. 496 he himself makes Hugh Smith die "seised" of the manors of "Cressing, Cressing Temple, White Notley, and half hundred (*sic*) of Witham" (thus giving the right form), while, only two pages earlier (p. 494), he definitely states of the manor of Witham that "this lordship and half-hundred continued in the possession of the Templars, and afterwards of the Knights Hospitallerstill.....1540," so that Hugh Smith cannot have died seised of either of them in 1486. Thus his own words prove that my criticism is just. Hugh did *not* possess these manors, and, even if he had done, he would have held the half *Hundred* of Witham, not "half the manor" thereof.

² A witness to Hugh's will as "Edmond Moone" and possibly his brother-in-law; he is in the spurious narrative, "Mr. Mone of Revenhall." Dr. Copinger's chart pedigree converts the name into "Moigne" and adds, without hesitation, "five of whose ancestors held the manor of Easton, co. Essex, by the serjeanty of being the King's Lardner at his Coronation"!

³ Ancient Deed, A. 7737 (P. R. O.)

His son was the real founder of the family, and the means by which he founded it was the law. Sir John Smith (as he became) was a typical Tudor upstart, rising by the law, acquiring land on the dissolution of the religious houses,¹ and prudently marrying, in the first instance, one of the daughters and heiresses of a London grocer. He acquired the manor of Cressing Temple and the half-hundred of Witham, which had belonged to the order of the Hospital, in July 1541, and Cressing became his seat or, at least, that of his descendants. Anxious to exalt the alleged ancestors of "the Smith-Carington family," Dr. Copinger writes:—

We find, however, that the manors of Cressing, Cressing Temple, White Notley, and half-hundred of Witham belonged much earlier to the Smith family, and Hugh Smith, 3rd son of John Carington, died seised of these manors. His will is dated the 12 March 1486. These estates passed to his son Sir John Smith (p. 496).

"We find" this only in Dr. Copinger's statement to that effect, which is, as I have said, at direct variance with the known history of these manors, all of which is in print. I am compelled to insist upon the point, because it proves that we

¹ Editing the will of his cousin, John Smith of Blackmore, Mr. King observed: "The family appear to have largely augmented their possessions out of the plunder of abbey lands. The Smyths of Cressing held the estate there of the Knights Hospitallers; Clement Smyth, brother of the testator, acquired monastic property in Coggeshall. John Smyth was one of the auditors of King Hen. VIII, and to him that monarch granted the manor and site of the Priory of Blackmore in 1540." (*Essex. Arch. Trans.* [O. S.] III. 55). It is not strange that he desired his sons to follow in his footsteps, and provided by his will that they should "lerne the laws of this realme, or wyth some auditores, or in some other office towards the lawe, whereby they may be better hable to live honestly according to the lawes of God." The family also took monastic lands on lease, which complicates their holdings.

cannot accept his unsupported statements in this book, until they have been duly verified.

So unconscious was Sir John Smith of the pedigree subsequently found for him that, as I have said, he duly obtained a brand-new coat of arms¹ as "John Smyth de Cressing." Indeed it was one of those complicated coats which Garter Barker loved to grant, and which stamped their bearers somewhat vividly as men newly risen.² Papworth blazons the grant as—

Argent, on two chevrons sable six fleurs de lis or ; a chief azure charged with a lion passant or oppressed on the shoulder by a lozenge gules.³

As Barker was Garter from 1536 to 1549, while Sir John Smith died in the same year as his sovereign, King Henry VIII (1547) we obtain a date-limit for the grant. In the old church of Witham, on Cheping Hill, there was formerly to be seen his funeral furniture, "coat, pennon, helm, crest, sword, target, and standard"; and the coat shown is given as:—

Argent, two chevrons azure, each charged with a fleur-de-lis or, and on a chief of the second [azure] a lion passant gardant of the third [or].⁴

The crest was "a cubit arm habited azure, ruffle argent, holding in the hand proper two

¹ See p. 185 above.

² See Mr. Stephen Tucker's paper on "Variations in the Petre Arms" in *Arch. Journal* XXXIII, 335-341. And compare Fuller's *Worthies*:—"Such coats were frequently given by the heralds, not out of want of wit, but will to bestow better, to the new gentry in the end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth."

³ Barker's grant is tricked in Harl. MS. 5846 (fo. 755, old numbering ; 297 b, new). The coat described as in Witham church differs somewhat from that in the text, and so does Vincent's blazon, referred to below.

⁴ Harl. MSS. 4944 ; 1541 (cited in *Essex Arch. Trans.* [N. S.] IV, 108.)

arrows or.”¹ This crest was as new and as distinctive as the coat.

Possibly, if the family had not increased their possessions, they might have remained content with these armorial bearings. But they had a perfect gift for marrying heiresses. Sir John's uncle had married the heiress of Tofts in Little Baddow,² and from his two sons descended the Essex families of Smith of Baddow and Smith of Blackmore. Sir John himself married for his second wife a Warwickshire heiress, and the son of this marriage, inheriting her property at Wootton Wawen, himself married the heiress of Ashby Folville and was ancestor of the first Lord Carington of Wootton Wawen, so created in 1643. Sir John's son by his first wife, one of the heiresses of a London grocer, married the heiress of the Leicestershire house of Nevill of Holt, and thus founded the family of “Smith *alias* Nevill.” In Witham church is the monument to this Nevill heiress and her second husband a Hervey of Ickworth, with the quaint statement that, after the death of her first husband she “continued and kept house in worshipful estate and credit at Cressing Temple in

¹ Ibid.

² This was an important match in the early history of the family. Dr. Copinger takes it upon himself to assail (p. 263) the 1664-8 Visitation of Essex, but only succeeds in illustrating thereby his own extraordinary confusion. That visitation assigns to Smith of Blackmore a coat of nine quarterings, of which we have “(8) Toft (9) Turner.” Dr. Copinger first reads this as “Toft of Turner” (!) and then explains that Smith of Blackmore “was not entitled to quarter the arms of Toft of (*sic*) Turner;” for “Agnes, daughter of William de Toft, was it is true in the line of descent, being the wife of the father of the last mentioned William de Carington, but she unfortunately was not an heiress.” The arms quartered had nothing to do with any ‘Carington’ alliance; they were those of the old Essex family of Toft, who gave their name to Tofts, and whose heiress, Isabella, as shown in his own book (p. 512), brought that manor in marriage to Thomas Smith. Her arms would be naturally quartered by their descendants.

y^e County of Essex the space of 27 yeares ” and died in 1592. Her son Henry, by her Smith husband, erected in Cressing church that important monument to his wife to which we are now coming.

It will be seen that by the close of the 16th century this spreading family had already four branches, two of them established at Little Baddow and Blackmore, in Essex, respectively; a third at Cressing in Essex and Holt in Leicestershire; and a fourth in Warwickshire. Hence we find their pedigree entered in the Essex Visitation of 1612, the Leicestershire Visitation of 1619, and the Warwickshire Visitation of 1619 also.

I now turn to their monuments, of which two are of consequence for my purpose. One of them is that at Cressing, of which I have spoken above; the other is that erected at Wootton Wawen to Sir John's son, Francis Smith, who died in 1606, a year and a half before his nephew's wife whom the Cressing monument commemorates. Both of them are florid heraldic structures; but in neither of them is any trace of the name or arms of Carington. This is the more noteworthy because on the Cressing monument Henry Smith is eloquent on the subject of his wife's family “*qui ex antiqua illa et vere nobili familia de Nevill de Rabi (unde et prosapia Comitum de Westm'lande ortum ducunt).*” But he simply styles himself “*filio et heredi Thomæ Smith armigeri.*”

One change, however, had been made. The monuments at Cressing and at Wootton Wawen prove that Sir John Smith's coat and crest had

already been discarded by his family, who had adopted what they may have thought a much nicer one: "Argent a cross gules between 4 peacocks close, azure," with a peacock's head for crest.

Now at this period there was a dodge, a dodge which Mr. Tucker, a professional herald, deemed sound heraldry,¹ by which these changes could be made to assume quite a distinguished character.

When the house of Spencer first aspired to armorial bearings, it received a brand-new coat of arms with seamews' heads as a charge. But when an obliging King of arms discovered for it, as it rose in wealth, that it was really sprung from the great house of Despencer, and allowed it a differenced Despencer coat, which it still bears, the sea-mews coat was relegated to the second quarter and vaguely described as "Spencer ancient."² So, on the Cressing Temple monument we find Sir John Smith's coat relegated to the second quarter, and thus actually providing the family with an additional quartering!³

But in the meanwhile there had begun a far grander development. Henry Smith of Cressing, who erected this monument, appears to have exhibited to two heralds Dethick, Garter, and Cooke, Clarenceux—who, although they denoun-

¹ "I apprehend that he (Lord Petre) might, if he chose, use the coat of Sir William Petre as the first of his quarterings after his simplified shield" (*Arch. Journ.* XXXIII, 310). That is to say, the true and original Petre coat would be relegated to the second quarter, the first, or place of honour, containing the nicer one, which the family had preferred.

² See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 292-5, 300, 307, and compare my remarks on the Temple coat (p. 16 above.).

³ Sir John's coat on this monument is blazoned in Chancellor's 'Sepulchral monuments of Essex' (p. 357) as "Argent, on two chevrons sable six fleurs-de-lis of the field, 3 and 3; on a chief azure a lion passant gardant of the first." Dr. Copinger repeats this blazon (p. 191), apparently quite unconscious of its conflict with that which he had adopted (p. 185 above).

ced one another's iniquities, were on this occasion acting together,—probably between 1590 and 1592, “an antient manuscript,” containing what I have described as the spurious narrative, which they seem to have accepted. Such, at least, is Dugdale's statement,¹ which appears to be supported by the fact that the narrative, in a 16th cent. MS., has been found in the charter chest of Henry's heirs, the Nevills of Holt.² On the other hand, there is the formal statement of Rougedragon (W. Smith) that the head of the family, Sir John Smith (of Little Baddow), had shown “two ancient writings” (containing the narrative) to Cooke, Clarenceux, who had thereupon certified the pedigree in 1577.³ There is some doubt, therefore, as to when and by whom the tale was first started, although, as we have seen, both accounts connect its first appearance with Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms.

It is, however, a notable fact that neither the name nor the arms of Carrington were as yet adopted by the family, in spite of this recognition. Their earliest use of the name that I can find in Dr. Copinger's book is afforded by an entry in the Diary of the English College at Rome, where a younger son of the Ashby Folville line made this

¹ In his Warwickshire (p. 570) he says; “I may not omit here to mention what I have seen attested by Sir William Dethick sometime Garter principall King of Arms and Robert Cooke Clarenceux... from the credit of an antient Manuscript (penes Henry Smith de Cressing Temple).”

² See p. 148 above.

³ In Harl. MS. 1500, fos. 102-3, we have his statement that “This pedigree is warrented by an historicall Pedegree engrossed in velym under the hand of Robert Cook (als. Clarenceux) King of Armes, agreeing verbatim with two ancient writings shewed unto him by Sr John Smith of Essex with whom they are now remayning.” This was written in 1602 when this notable old warrior was still living.

statement in the year 1600: "My name is John Smyth alias Carington; my father's name is George Smyth" etc. (p. 248). Even when Sir Charles Smith was raised to the peerage as Lord "Carrington" in 1643, he did not alter his surname. That the 'Carington' descent was still looked upon, in some quarters, with suspicion, is shown by the extract from Vincent's "Leicestershire," a MS. in the College of Arms, printed in the *Complete Peerage*, II, 117.

I cannot but feare this descent from which y^e Smiths of Ashby Folville and others of that name derive themselves; because it is scarce known that, upon any occasion, both name and arms should be changed, and Sir John Smith, Knt., Baron of y^e Exchequer, gave first "Argent, on a chevron, sable, 6 fleurs-de-lis, or; on a chief of the second a lion passant of the first and then, after many years, y^e issue of him gave "y^e cross between 4 peacocks, proper", and now they flye to Carrington, *sed quo jure penitus ignoro. Ex libro Thomæ Baronis Brudenell*¹ anno 1641.

Dugdale, with similar caution, dealt thus tersely with the story in the second volume of his *Baronage* (1676):—

This family do derive themselves from Sir Michael Carington, knight, Standard bearer to King Richard the First in the Holy Land.

The use, however, of an *alias* was already creeping in; the last lord Carrington had been married in 1657 as "Charles Carington *alias* Smith," and his

¹ Lord Brudenell's aunt, Elizabeth Brudenell, had married, as his 2nd wife, Francis Smith of Wootton Wawen, whose monument shows the cross and peacocks coat. Dr Copinger styles her (p. 175) "eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Brudenell, knt., of Dean, Northants, and Gains Park, Essex." But Gains Park never belonged to the Brudenells.

cousin Francis, somewhat later, used the same double style.¹ But for the extinction of their line further developments might have followed.

The last lord Carrington (of the first creation) died in 1706, and, on the death of Francis Smith *alias* Carington, of this line, in 1749, there was an end of the house. Subsequent topographical and genealogical writers treated the entire family as extinct.²

Neither in Essex nor in the Midlands was there known any family descended in the male line from the old Essex Smiths of Tudor days.³

LORD CARRINGTON'S ANCESTRY

As I explained at the outset, the family of Smith-‘Carington’ is entirely distinct from that family of Smith of which Lord Carrington’s branch has adopted the surname of Carrington (afterwards changed to ‘Carington’). Dr. Copinger insists on deriving them both from a common ancestor, Sir John Smith of Essex, Baron of the Exchequer *temp.* Henry VIII, through two of his sons. And Sir John he derives from the Caringtons through ‘the great Carington imposture.’

In neither case can he produce any *proof* of this descent, and it is a singular fact that the ancestors of both families appear to have been living in the

¹ From his daughter and heiress descends the old Essex Family of Wright of Kelvedon Hatch.

² See, for instance, the pedigree in *Nichols' History of Leicestershire*.

³ The Blackmore line had come to an end even before their kinsmen in the Midlands.

parish of St. Mary's, Nottingham, at the close of the 17th century. This, I hasten to add, may have been mere coincidence ; but there is no reason to suppose that either family was of other than local origin. The district, we shall find, swarmed with Smiths.

In the case of Lord Carington's family there is no longer any occasion to demolish its descent from the old Essex house. The task has already been performed by one of its own members, the late Augustus Smith, M.P., of Tresco Abbey, who, in 1861, issued

A true and faithful history of the Family of Smith originally cradled at Wiverton and Cropwell Butler in the Parish of Titheby and more recently established at Nottingham.

This modest book, in strange contrast with his own colossal production, has evidently proved to Dr. Copinger a source of great annoyance. Indeed he has allowed his irritation to find vent at the outset by scornfully writing :—

The absurdity of the pedigree manufactured by the late Mr. Augustus Smith M.P. is too apparent to need serious refutation.

This is tolerably strong language, stronger language than he would like to see applied to his own performance.

Mr. Smith's real offence appears to have been his insistence on the fact that

the ancestor of the Smiths of Cropwell Butler is undoubtedly found in a humble yeoman of that village... This race was altogether plebeian in its source.

Such an admission, not unnaturally, is most annoying to Dr. Copinger, who insists on claiming for Lord Carrington the honour of being a cadet of "the Smith-Carrington family."

And what makes it the more annoying is that he cannot deny that Mr. Smith successfully demolished the descent which had been set up for his family. With horrible honesty he wrote thus:—

Before the humble course of the true Smith stream is pursued, it may be as well to show for once and for ever that the yeoman and blacksmith family of Titheby and that derived from the Exchequer baron by the grocer's daughter, never in any way had any relationship.

He denounces also—

the inquiries of imaginative genealogists, whose disposition is as prone to romance as those who have indulged and attempted to establish the fiction that these Titheby Smiths had branched from a noble family who were sometimes known as Smiths and sometimes as Carringtons... whose honours and even name in one instance the sturdier race has presumed to usurp.

This scathing allusion to his own relatives refers, of course, to the selection by Robert Smith, the banker, of 'Carrington' as his peerage title, and to the direction in his will that his son should change his name to 'Carrington' from Smith, which was accordingly done in 1839.¹

Wraxall makes an interesting allusion to Robert Smith's peerage:—²

¹ It is of this change that The *Complete Peerage* somewhat severely observes: "This direction was doubtless a final (indeed posthumous) effort to give an additional appearance of a descent (palpably untenable) from the 'gentle' family of 'Smith *alias* Carrington,' whose title of peerage had already been acquired" (II, 169).

² *Posthumous Memoirs*, I. 66-8.

Towards the year 1790, Mr. Smith removed his residence [from Lombard Street] to the vicinity of St. James', where he occupied a splendid house looking into the Green Park. He still represented his native place, Nottingham; and, adhering invariably to the minister, was raised, in 1796, to the Irish peerage, by the title of Lord Carrington. Scarcely fifteen months afterwards Pitt placed him on the barons' bench in the British house of peers, by the same title; not however, as was well known, without experiencing a long resistance on the part of the King.¹ Throughout his whole reign, George the Third adopted as a fixed principle that no individual engaged in trade, however ample might be his nominal fortune, should be created a British peer. Nor do I believe that in the course of fifty years he infringed or violated this rule, except in the single instance before us.

I believe that he [Mr. Smith] claimed a collateral alliance with the family of the same name, one of whom was ennobled by Charles the First under the title of Carrington, an English barony which expired under Queen Anne early in the last century. Whether the fact be so or not, I have been told that Pitt intended to raise his friend a step higher in the Red Book; and that, when his administration suddenly terminated in 1801, Lord Carrington was on the point of being created Viscount Wendover²....

The collateral connexion referred to by Wraxall, when the title was originally obtained, was traced through John Smith of Cropwell Butler, who d. in 1641, and who was claimed as a younger son of George Smith of Ashby Folville. In the words of Mr. Augustus Smith,—

¹ This interesting and definite statement is categorically denied in the *Quarterly Review* (1836), CXIV, 457, "from the authority of Mr. Pitt himself." But Wraxall did, at least, good service in insisting on the vastly lower *status* of an Irish, compared with a British, Peerage, when conferred on an Englishman, a fact now generally forgotten.

² This title, with an *earldom* of Carrington, was added to the barony in 1895.

This is the John Smith who, by the authority of the late Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-arms, with the poetical turn so prevalent among the sons of Hibernia, was forcibly engrafted on the ancient line of the Smith-Carringtons¹ in the person of a John Smith, who was the fifth son of George Smith of Ashby Folville,... a most unfortunate hypothesis...

Dr. Copinger has to admit that the Ashby Folville cadet "had died 16 years too early to afford the needful connexion" (p. 3).

Accordingly, Mr. Smith scoffed at

the attempt of the present [1861] Lord Carrington to engraft himself on the parent stock, to countenance which he has obtained leave to take the name of Carington (*sic*) by sign manual.

And he further betrays the fact that—

the present [1861] Lord Carrington, it appears, has recently purchased the burial chancel of the former owners of Ashby Folville, and repaired and restored their monuments, doubtless as a sort of apologetic compliment and propitiatory offering as the bearer of their title and borrower of the peacock plumage which adorned their coat of arms.

We thus learn that the family monuments of the Ashby Folville Smiths were taken in hand by one of the families that sought to claim descent from them long before the other family had appeared upon the scene. Indeed it doubtless adds to the guilt of Mr. Augustus Smith that he was blissfully ignorant of the claim of that other family, the Worcester nurseryman being known as yet in that capacity only, and not having then revealed himself to the world as the heir male of the body of a

¹ i. e. The old Leicestershire house of Smith.

Conquest 'Carington' or as the descendant of Norman dukes.¹

Uno avulso non deficit alter. Lord Carrington's claim, exposed by his kinsman, had to be and was dropped, and a straightforward and unexceptionable pedigree has long appeared in the peerage-books. But, before long, Mr. Smith-'Carington' was looking out, in turn, for ancestral monuments to restore. And at Blackmore (1879) and Wootton Wawen (1882) he found them.²

But the point on which attention should be fixed is what Dr. Copinger himself terms "the unhappy guess of Berry and Sir William Betham" that John Smith, Lord Carington's ancestor (who d. 1641), was identical with another John Smith, a cadet of the house of Ashby Folville. For this is an admission, firstly, that the alleged identity was a "guess," and secondly, that on this "guess" alone rested the pedigree authorised by Betham, Ulster King of Arms. When we analyse the new descent which Dr. Copinger now, with so much confidence, puts forward (pp. 2 & 5), we find that its identification of John Smith, the ancestor, with a John Smith named in an Essex will is every whit as much a "guess" as that which was made by Betham and Berry.

He claims indeed that "the documents and registers, of which we give copies, are practically conclusive as to the descent" he advances, but all, we find, they prove is that Lord Carrington's ancestor, John Smith, yeoman, bought some land

¹ He did not assume "the name of Carington by Deed Poll" till 1878.

² See Dr. Copinger's book, pp. 112, 125, 508.

in Cropwell Butler, Notts, 24 October 1622 (p. 252), and that William Smith of East Mersea, Essex, had a son John, who proved his will as executor 11 April 1622 (p. 222), but for the date of whose birth ("between 1595 and 1600") not a shred of evidence is produced. Absolutely no proof whatever is given for the identity of these two men.

Even with the tribe of Nottinghamshire Smiths, in the midst of whom the ancestor is found,

with so common a name as Smith, particularly where the Christian names are equally common, it is a matter of very great difficulty to trace the exact relationship in individuals.

So, most justly, wrote Mr. Augustus Smith. When Dr. Copinger boldly asserts that

No professional genealogist would for a moment accept Mr. Augustus Smith's conclusions as sound, etc.—

one is reminded that Berry and Betham were both professional genealogists, and that they no doubt like Dr. Copinger,¹ might prefer to solve problems of identity by a "guess."

If a spurious pedigree was invented for Lord Carrington's family, their arms at least were above reproach. Of his ancestor Thomas Smith Mr. Smith proudly wrote that he bore "a coat of arms, filched from no other Smith, but his own by grant from the Heralds' College." It was, he claimed, "in keeping with the honest character of the man" that he stated when applying for this grant (in 1717) that he "was uncertain what arms did rightly

¹ See p. 201 above for conclusive proof of Dr. Copinger's method.

belong to his name and family, and that he was unwilling to bear any to which he had not a just title." The coat which he was granted was based, not on any Smith arms, but on that of his mother's family, the Collins of Nottingham, woolcombers, to whom they had been granted so recently as 1712.

Dr. Copinger waxes wroth with Mr. Smith for claiming, on the strength of this, that his ancestor knew himself to have no hereditary right to arms, and insists that, on the contrary, the form of his application shows that he was only "uncertain whether he should bear the arms of Carington or Smith." But, alas! Dr. Copinger is clearly unaware that its wording was merely "common form"; and the fact that the coat actually granted was that neither of Smith nor of Carington, but one totally different, is so obviously destructive of Dr. Copinger's contention that one can only wonder how he came to advance it.

THE SMITH-CARINGTON DESCENT

The claim of Lord Carrington's family to descent from the Essex Smiths and, through them, from the Cheshire Caringtons, has been, as I have said, frankly abandoned since its exposure by one of themselves, in 1861, though its memory, of course, was made indelible by the London banker's choice of his title in 1796. The idea, probably, was not his own, but proceeded from some unscrupulous genealogist with Betham to aid and abet him.

But in Burke's *History of the Commoners*, which belongs to a deplorable period,—a period exceptionally rich in genealogical fable,—the descent duly appears, supported by the daring statement that Gaddesby had been inherited from the Smiths of Ashby Folville.¹ In the same obliging work a Colonel Carrington Smith, of St. Margaret's, Glouc., was definitely derived, through the Essex Smiths, from Sir Michael, the inevitable standard-bearer, with the added information that “he claims the ancient Barony of Carington”²—whatever that might be.

But of the one remaining claim nothing was as yet known. The seeds, however, had been sown which were destined, in the fulness of time, to bear their gorgeous fruit. Within a few months—or weeks—of the issue of Dr. Copinger's mighty tome there appeared, in the *Daily Mail*, a slender half-column in strange contrast to the *History and Records of the Smith-Carrington Family from the Conquest to the present time*. In the midst of a page devoted to the merits of such things as soap and vinegar and beer, as produced by certain firms, we find the simple annals of that house's origin and rise. Not, indeed, that the careless reader would imagine the two histories to be those of the same house. For the sketch given us under the heading of “Richard Smith & Co.”³ contains facts for which we seek in vain in the monumental *History*, while the glories enshrined in the latter work

¹ Vol. I. (1833), p. 98.

² Vol. IV. (1838), p. 740.

³ *Daily Mail*, October 18, 1907. p. 3.

appear to have been all unknown to the writer of that simple sketch.

But on a careful reader there might dawn the fact that certain "nurseries" at Worcester have played a more important part in the rise of this "ancient house" than the exploits even of Sir Michael Carington, as he waved his sovereign's banner on the blood-stained fields of Palestine.

These simple annals begin, early in the last century, with a certain Richard Smith, whose career Dr. Copinger treats with a somewhat strange terseness (p. 359), in striking contrast with the loving care he bestows on Sir Michael's life. But Richard Smith had the disadvantage of being a real man. From "the record of a century's progress," as these annals are entitled, we learn that "his financial resources were meagre," and that—in the county we associate with the name of Mr. Jesse Collings—he started in life with "four acres"—and no cow! For he was a nursery gardener. On the subject of the rise of the family through his successful career Dr. Copinger is silent.

It was his son and namesake "who with untold enthusiasm," in the touching words of Dr. Copinger's dedication, "devoted the leisure hours of a busy life to tracing the ancestry of his ancient house," and "collected with indefatigable energy the material from which" Dr. Copinger's volume, "embodying the fruit of his labours, has been compiled." The result was seen in his restoration of an ancestral monument to a Smith at Blackmore, Essex, as early as 1876 or 1879,¹ in his assumption

¹ Dr. Copinger *more suo* gives both dates (pp. III-2, 508).

by deed-poll, in 1878, of the additional surname of "Carington," and, above all, in the subsequent development of his pedigree in the "Landed Gentry."

In the 1886 edition of that work we read only that "several families claim descent from" the Essex Smiths "who are stated to have changed their surname" from Carington—an unimpeachable remark, and that among them Mr. Richard Smith—"Carington" claims such descent, though "his immediate ancestor" was a Beeston Baptist who had died in 1795. But by 1894 this guarded statement had been cast to the winds. His brief pedigree had been replaced by one which had already found its way, elsewhere, into print.¹ To the splendid pedigree of the Okeovers of Okeover, a great county family, the so-called "Landed Gentry" could only devote a column: to that of Smith-'Carington' it devoted nearly four. At its head, of course, is Sir "Mychell" the glorious, "6th in descent from Hamo, Lord of Carinton, co. Chester, *temp.* William I." By an even further development, four years later (1898), the "Landed Gentry" was able to announce that "the descent is recorded in the Heralds' college in an unbroken line for over 700 years."

For the pedigree as well as for the nurseries it had proved "a century of progress."

Let us then examine the evidence for this astounding pedigree from "the Conquest." Nearly half of it, we saw, is swept away at once by the

¹ In Dimock-Fletcher's *Leicestershire pedigrees and Royal descents*, 1886, Mr. Smith-'Carington' appears as a subscriber for 6 copies of this work).

proof that the whole of the "Carington" descent rests upon a forged document, "the great Carington imposture." There remains the descent from the Essex Smiths, a family of Tudor rise. Is Dr. Copinger successful in proving even this descent, which he claims as "fully verified"?

But why, it may be said, ask for proof when there is the evidence, the indisputable evidence, of physiognomy? According to Dr. Copinger,—

Mr. James Walter, in his charming and beautiful work, "Shakespeare's true life" (p. 145)..... says of the late Mr. Richard Smith-Carington: "Dugdale with his reliable correctness shows how closely the Harewell, Smith, and Carington families have been bound up with these manors (that is, Wootten Wawen, Shottery, etc), though even this testimony of our greatest of olden topographers is not needed to impress a fact which the grand old church of Wootten Wawen so indisputably proclaims in the remarkable resemblance of the present Richard Smith-Carington, of St. Cloud, Worcester to the recumbent effigy on one of the grand old monuments in Wootten Wawen church" (p. 365).

The "charming and beautiful" style of those somewhat gushing gentlemen who write of "olden" topographers and of "grand old" monuments in "grand old" churches, does not inspire, I fear, confidence in their critical judgment. As for the "recumbent effigy," we are not told if it is that which is depicted and described on pp. 527-8 of Dr. Copinger's book, and there assigned to a John Harewell, who died so far back as 1428, or that of Francis Smith, who died more than three centuries ago.

In either case it is a long period for the preser-

vation or revival of this "remarkable resemblance."

But those whose eyes are quick to detect such resemblances have achieved even greater feats. Mr. Bain, a learned Scottish antiquary, called attention to an article on "Nights and days with de Quincey," which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* Feb. 1890, and in which, under "Family Resemblances," we read :—

On one of my visits to the Houses of Parliament, whilst passing through one of the corridors, I was startled by the features of a figure quite unknown to me. The thought flashed, how strikingly the face resembles Miss Florence de Quincey !..... On reading the inscription, I found that the figure was actually that of her ancestor, Saher de Quincey, Earl of Winchester.

When I returned to Edinburgh, I reported to de Quincey this singular resemblance of the effigy of the old earl to his daughter over a gap of some five (*sic*) centuries.¹

Mr. Bain, naturally, proceeds to ask :—"How can a resemblance between a lady of the nineteenth century and a fancy portrait of a baron of the thirteenth prove their relationship ?"

He further reminds us "how rootedly the belief lingers in this country that persons who bear a similar surname are all descended from a common ancestor, than which there can be no greater delusion." He points out that it led "De" Quincey to add that prefix to his name, "as the descendant of a Magna Charta baron, to which he appears not to have had a vestige of claim, if records can be trusted." As he justly adds :—

¹ It was, of course, more than that. The earl died in 1219.

People who prefer fact to fiction are not disposed to allow loose assertions founded on fancied resemblances, hearsay reports, and the like, of descent..... to be gravely stated in the pages of well known publications, without challenge. ¹

The worthlessness of "fancied resemblances" is the point on which I would insist.

Of this I lately noted an instance so amusing that no apology is needed for citing so good an illustration. In a Parliamentary sketch the writer pictured for us :

the handsome cavalier face, with its white-pointed beard and strong features, of Mr. Verney. A cavalier he is by instinct and tradition, as well as in appearance, for it was a Verney who was King Charles' standard-bearer at Edgehill—his body left on the field..... At last the old fighting spirit of his race, the family sense of loyalty to a cause, the instinctive devotion that the Verneys aforetime bore to that king :

"For whose house my fathers fought.

With hopes that varying rose and fell."
asserted themselves. ²

Can it be necessary to explain that the Verneys of to-day only took that name on succeeding by bequest to the Verneys' estates, and neither have nor profess to have any descent from them in blood? The family of Calvert, to which they belong, began with a village tallow-chandler at the time of the Civil War, and its fortunes were founded by his son, who started as a brewer in Cripplegate. ³

One may fitly close the tale of these ancestral visions with Alison's keen detection in Sir E. Bulwer

¹ *Genealogist* [N. S.] VII, 20.

² *Sunday Times*, 12 September 1909, p. 12.

³ *Hertfordshire Families* (V. C. H.) p. 55.

Lytton of the qualities of "his Norman forefathers," and his description of his host's "ancestral halls".... "built by a Norman follower of the Conqueror." For the Lyttons had similarly taken that name on succeeding to the Lytton estates without "any descent from the old family." So I fear we must ask for more than the evidence of physiognomy.

Assuming that Mr. Smith-'Carington' was able to identify his great-grandfather as the William Smith baptized at St. Mary's, Nottingham, 26 Dec. 1699, and further as the son of Robert Smith and Naomi Blood, who were married in that church February 14 preceding,¹ the entire pedigree turns on the next step in the descent, on the one question:—Who was Robert?

Who was the Robert Smith who married Naomi Blood 14 February 1698/9? Can Dr. Copinger produce one single fact concerning this Robert which would afford proof, or even presumption, as to who he really was? He does not produce even one. For his birth, his baptism, his burial, his will, for anything, in short, that would prove his identity, we seek and we seek in vain.²

So far then as proof is concerned, the pedigree begins here, begins with "a poor and landless" man (as Dr. Copinger terms him) of whom we can learn nothing.

But if proof fails, guess-work remains; and in the case of such a name as Smith one can guess almost anything. We have seen that by one

¹ I take these dates from Dr. Copinger's book (pp. 310, 339): they are doubtless correct, but no copies of the entries in the registers are vouchsafed.

² With his alleged previous marriage I shall deal below.

unlucky guess John Smith, Lord Carrington's ancestor, was identified by Betham and Berry with a John Smith of Leicestershire ; and (this identity having been disproved) we have also seen that by another guess, for which no proof is offered, Dr. Copinger has assumed his identity with a John Smith of Essex.¹ We have further seen that he assumed the identity of his "John Smith *alias* Carington" with a John Smith in some Essex fines, whom he had himself identified with quite another person, thereby proving that his method was guess-work alone.² When, therefore, he similarly asserts the identity of Robert Smith of Nottingham, we are forced to ask for the proof of that identity ; and of proof, again, he gives us none.

The strange thing is that Dr. Copinger himself had to reject the alleged identity of his own ancestor Alderman John Copinger of Cork (d. 1637) with a John Copinger entered in a funeral certificate as younger son of a Thomas Copinger, Mayor of Cork, observing, of the pedigree which asserted it, that

This pedigree is, in his opinion, utterly untrustworthy. The connecting link is effected by making Alderman John Copinger, who died in 1637, the son of a Thomas Copinger ; but as it is perfectly clear that he was nothing of the kind, the author is reluctantly obliged to disregard the attempted connection.³

One would have expected him, therefore, to require some proof of the similar alleged identity in the case of the Smith pedigree.

It is quite immaterial to ask by whom the

¹ See p. 218 above.

² See p. 201 above.

³ *History of the Copingers* (1882), p. iv.

identity was suggested: Dr. Copinger, at least, asserts it. And the identity asserted is that of the two Roberts below :—

(Sir) Thomas Smith,¹
of Charley Priory,
Leicestershire,
born " 1578 "

↓
(A)

Robert Smith
7th son.

(B)

Robert Smith
m. at Nottingham
1699.

What has to be proved is : (1) that this (Sir) Thomas had a son Robert ; (2) that this son Robert was identical with that Robert Smith who was married at Nottingham in 1699. Of the first proposition no legal, or even satisfactory proof is given ; of the second there is not vouchsafed any proof at all.

And proof, I must repeat, is, in this case, essential. The whole district swarmed with Smiths. Indeed, we need not look beyond the great chart pedigree of Dr. Copinger's book to find another Robert Smith, son of Thomas Smith of Titheby,² who would be about contemporary with the alleged Robert Smith son of Thomas Smith of Charley, for he was baptized " 12 Jan. 1645." He has at least as good a claim to be identified with the Robert Smith of whom we only know that he married at Nottingham in 1699.³

¹ His knighthood seems to be in doubt. It has been suggested to me that its attribution is due to confusion with some knight of his name. As a matter of fact, his own kinsman, Thomas Smith of Leicestershire, who was contemporary with him, was knighted in 1637.

² About eight miles from Nottingham.

³ The case has some analogy to the famous Chandos peerage claim (1790-1803), in which Sir S. E. Brydges, the well-known genealogist and editor of

In the book of Mr. Augustus Smith we read that—

If Titheby and Cropwell-Butler scarce tolerated or acknowledged any residents within their boundaries but such as were distinguished by the name of Smith, all the neighbouring villages, more or less, if not in equal degree, had their share of worthies known by the same surname..... Thus Cotgrave, Kenoulton, Plumtree, Cassington, Widmerpool, Bridgeford,¹ Barneston, Langar, etc. each produce numerous chips from the same block..... This is not very favourable for the unravelling of genealogical difficulties..... with so common a name as Smith, particularly where the Christian names are equally common,² it is a matter of very great difficulty to trace the exact relationship of individuals, etc., etc., (pp. 5-6.)

It is obvious that to identify Robert Smith (B) is like seeking the proverbial needle in a bushel of hay. And we are not even given the slightest reason for supposing that he was identical with the alleged Robert (A) son of (Sir) Thomas Smith.

The dates on p. 229 show that the marriage of Robert Smith in 1699 took place a hundred and twenty years after the birth of his alleged father. Obviously this is a further reason why we must insist on strict proof of the affiliation asserted. Dr. Copinger endeavours to lessen the chronological

Collins' Peerage, claimed that his brother was heir-male, through a cadet, of the Lords Chandos. He could trace their descent back to a John Bridges, a Canterbury grocer, who d. in 1699, and who was son of Edward Bridges, a Faversham yeoman. But the question was, who was Edward? The claimant asserted that he was son of a Robert Bridges of Maidstone, whose father, Anthony, was a younger son of the first Lord Chandos; but he could not prove this to the satisfaction of the House. And Mr. Beltz appears to have proved, in his "Review of the Chandos Peerage Case", that Edward's real father was John Bridges of Harbledown by Canterbury, where a local family of Bridges occupied a somewhat humble position.

¹ Adjoining Nottingham.

² For instance Thomas Smith of Cropwell Butler had four sons, Thomas, Robert, Edward, and George.

difficulty by alleging that Robert had been married to a first wife, at Strelley, twenty-two years before (3 Feb. 1666-7). But he does not even attempt to prove that the two bridegrooms were identical. And as he does not produce the entries for either marriage, we are left completely in the dark as to what light, if any, they throw upon the question.

The lawyer insists as strongly as the scientific genealogist on the absolute necessity of proving, not merely assuming, identity. Writing of the proof of pedigree, Sir Francis Palmer observes :—

At every turn, too, questions of identity arise: for example, proof of the marriage of A. and B. is adduced — this must include proof of the identity of the spouses. Proof of the death of C. is produced; here again, it is not enough to show that a person named C. died at a particular date; the person so claiming must be identified with the C. of the pedigree. And so with all persons figuring in the pedigree, the establishment of identity is an essential element in the proof (See Hubback, 438).¹

How much more is this essential when the name is Smith!

I pass to the other Robert, the alleged son of (Sir) Thomas Smith of Charley, Co. Leic. We naturally seek for some evidence of his birth or baptism, as it ought to throw some light on his alleged identity with a man who was marrying so late as 1699. Dr. Copinger does indeed assert that “all the issue of Sir Thomas Smith by his 2nd wife except perhaps the youngest” were born at Charley, but should we ask for their baptisms as proofs, we are put off with the excuse that “No

¹ *Peerage law in England* p. 236.

register of Charley can be found, being extra-parochial with very few inhabitants, and it may never have possessed a register " (p. 309). This excuse will not serve. We have only to turn to Nichols' *Leicestershire* to learn that " the inhabitants of Charley are usually christened, married, and buried at Shepeshed church. " ¹

I stated above that there is " no legal or even satisfactory proof " that (Sir) Thomas Smith of Charley had, as alleged, a son Robert. The only evidence, it will be found, that Dr. Copinger produces, is an old, unsigned, unauthenticated pedigree, demonstrably incorrect, which is found among the MSS. purchased by the British Museum in 1844.

Now, as a lawyer and Professor of Law, and indeed a specialist on the subject, ² Dr. Copinger must be aware: (1) that this document is not, legally, " in proper custody "; (2) that, even if it were, it could not possibly be evidence or be accepted as such in any court of law. If he does not know this, anyone acquainted with the subject could tell him so. In his anxiety, however, to make use of this pedigree he ventures on a strange suggestion.

There is in the British Museum, *and has been probably ever since 1764*, ³ a box containing a Carlos pedigree, Smith of Queniborough pedigree, Carington-Smith pedigree, and Dormer pedigree. In the Reference Book it says " drawn upon occasion of lawsuit in which Edward Carlos was claimant about 1764 " (p. 348).

¹ Vol. III, p. 122,

² For he is the author of *Title Deeds ; their Custody, Inspection, and Production, at Law, etc. etc.*

³ The italics are mine.

The suggestion that it has "probably" been in the Museum's custody since the date of the trial is, to say the least, unfortunate, in view of the fact that "the Reference Book," which he himself cites, shows it not to have been purchased till 1844!

But let us see what this pedigree, or these pedigrees, however worthless as evidence, assert. Dr. Copinger selects for his purpose the *ex parte* pedigree on behalf of William Smith, on the evidence of which he makes two conflicting statements.

I.

William Smith the defendant put into court ¹ a pedigree showing that Thomas Smith..... married a daughter of Martin Powtrell, Esq., ² and *this pedigree mentions the issue of this marriage as set forth in the main pedigree.* ³ (p. 245).

II.

As defendant William Smith brought into court ¹ a pedigree of his family showing how he became entitled as heir-at-law, and *though inaccurate in several particulars,* ² this pedigree effectively proved (*sic*) that Thomas Smith..... had, by a daughter of Martin Powtrill ² two sons Thomas and Robert (p. 348).

The passage which I have italicised in the statement on the left is, I regret to say, contrary to fact. Dr. Copinger's main pedigree gives "the issue of this marriage" as *eight* children; the pedigree he assigns to William Smith only names *two*! The point is one of great importance. For

¹ This is not proved.

² This alleged second marriage of (Sir?) Thomas Smith is at least not confirmed by the will of his alleged father-in-law, which ignores the existence of such daughter.

³ The italics are mine.

in what pedigree does he find the eight children whom he names? In the *rival* and *conflicting* pedigree for Carlos!¹ But this Carlos pedigree on which he thus relies expressly states that, of these children, Robert, whom he claims as the ancestor, died *without issue* ("S.P.")!

Let us turn to the pedigree for William Smith, which he himself, we have seen, admits to be "inaccurate in several particulars." And yet he claims that it "effectively proved" that Thomas had two sons Thomas and Robert. Does Dr. Copinger, as a lawyer, know the meaning of "proof"? Here is an unsigned pedigree of which we do not know the history, admittedly an *ex parte* production, admittedly "inaccurate in several particulars"; and because it states a fact, not even (so far as we can see) essential to the case, Dr. Copinger pronounces that fact to be "effectively proved"!

Be it further observed that while the Carlos pedigree makes Robert brother of Thomas (of Earl Shilton) die without issue, the pedigree for William Smith does not contradict that statement. For, though it assigns to his brother Thomas a wife and issue, it does not assign either to Robert.

And, above all, it does not in any way connect him with the Robert Smith, who married at Nottingham in 1699. It does not even favour that identity; for in the great chart pedigree Dr. Copinger shows us Valentine, a *younger* brother of Robert son of Thomas, marrying before 1657, and

¹ Where they are wrongly assigned to his brother George Smith of Queniborough.

their sister Elizabeth marrying in 1655. These dates would not suggest that a brother of theirs married so late as 1699.

I have now made good my statement ¹ that there is no "legal or even satisfactory proof" that Thomas had a son Robert, and that, even if he had, there is no proof whatever of the identity of that Robert with the Robert Smith who married at Nottingham in 1699.

Although the reader may be weary of the minute examination necessary, I cannot well pass over the issue raised in the trial to which these pedigrees are referred. ² Putting it as briefly as possible, the fight was for the Queniborough estate, which an old entail of 1603 had tied up in tail male for a second son and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to his younger brothers and the heirs male of their bodies, similarly, in succession. ¹ The male line of this second son came to an end (as Dr. Copinger's pedigree shows) on the death of his great-grandson Edmund Smith of Queniborough in 1727. To whom did the succession then open under the old entail to heirs male? If Dr. Copinger's pedigree is right, the heir male was the Robert Smith who married at Nottingham in 1699 or, if he was dead, his son William.

Is there any mention to be found of any claim by them to the property? *There is none.* The obvious inference is that they were wholly uncon-

¹ p. 229 above.

² I have traced with some difficulty and examined the records of it.

³ It was re-settled on the same heirs in 1638.

nected with the family, a descent from whom is now claimed for them.

But the climax is the pedigree put forward by William Smith "of Ludlow," relied on (we have seen) by Dr. Copinger, "though inaccurate in several particulars." We shall deem this an understatement when we find that this man put forward a pedigree grossly and deliberately false, "showing how he became entitled." As Dr. Copinger's pedigree shows, he was, in reality, the heir male of the *elder* brother, and thus excluded wholly under the old entail of 1603. But he coolly took his grandfather Francis Smith (b. 1617, d. 1677), ¹ and foisted him into the younger (Queniborough) line as a 4th son of George Smith of Queniborough who died in 1642! He thus made himself out direct heir male of the Queniborough line and first cousin to Edmund Smith, on whose death in 1727 he would thus be entitled under the old entail!

To prove all this we have merely to compare the pedigree printed by Dr. Copinger, with that which William Smith, he says, "put into court," and without the evidence of which the "Smith-Carington" claim could never have been advanced. Such is the document, the one document, on which Dr. Copinger here relies. On his own showing it is worthless.

One point more. The old Warwickshire and Leicestershire Smiths had been royalists and strong 'recusants' since the marriage with a Giffard of Chillington had rallied them to the old faith. But

¹ These are the dates he gave.

when the Smith-Carington ancestry emerges into the light of day, we find them Baptists. How was this? We are given this explanation:—

1745, the year of the last Jacobite rising, was a terribly grievous time for Roman Catholics; they were suspected and closely watched everywhere..... William Smith, like his ancestors, had ever been a faithful adherent to the Stuarts, and the persecution of the Stuart followers chafed and enraged him. His great sympathy with all who disliked the Hanoverian dynasty drew him to associate with some notably clever anabaptists at Beeston, then violently inflamed against the existing government. His association with this sect, at first from political motives, led to his joining them in their religious tenets and observances about the year 1747 (p. 340).

Mr. Augustus Smith observed in his book¹ that, when it was attempted to identify a cadet of the Leicestershire Roman Catholic Smiths with the Protestant ancestor of his own house, "some fable of his having turned Protestant had been imagined." One would certainly wish for some evidence for a story so singular as that of a persecuted Roman Catholic joining the Baptist Community from his hatred of the Hanoverian dynasty. For, as Mr. Lecky observes, "the whole body of Protestant Dissenters were passionately devoted to the Hanoverian succession,"² from their hatred of Jacobitism and Popery, and as he further reminds us,—

The ministries of Walpole and Pelham represented especially the commercial classes and the dissenters, aimed beyond all things at the maintenance of the type of monarchy established by the Revolution.³

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 14.

² *England in the 18th century*, I, 207.

³ *Ibid.* p. 473.

Yet of evidence for this story there is given us none.

Now to all criticism of the pedigree which he claims as "fully verified" Dr. Copinger can make, and in effect does, one reply. He claims at the outset that "over 700 years of the descent in an unbroken line" has, "as stated in Burke's Landed Gentry, Ed. 1898, p. 235, been registered in the College of Arms." As I am extremely anxious to do no injustice to the College, I made enquiries on the subject and was informed that the statement cited is quite incorrect.¹ The descent, however, from the Leicestershire Smiths (which does not involve the former) has been duly recorded, as we learn from the Royal licence issued only a few years ago (1 June 1904) and printed by Dr. Copinger (pp. 372-3). From it we learn

That the Petitioners are descended in the male line from George Smith of Ashby Folville aforesaid, and the Pedigree is duly entered in the Records of the Heralds' College.

If this is claimed by Dr. Copinger as decisive of the question, one must remind him, firstly, that Lord Carrington's descent from the Smiths of Ashby Folville, though now abandoned, had been similarly admitted by an Ulster King of Arms; secondly, that he himself impugns, in the case of the Smiths of Blackmore, a heralds' visitation as "inaccurate" (p. 263).

It is with very great reluctance that I am driven to question a pedigree "duly entered" in the College Records at so recent a period. But in this

¹ p. 144 above.

case, we have seen, it is unavoidable. To raise the question must not be construed as in any way an attack upon the College, whose present head is zealous for the efficient discharge of its functions. What is questioned is only whether its system is sufficiently modernised, its mode of proof sufficiently stringent, to render the admission of error impossible, or at least improbable. The Smith-Carington pedigree affords an admirable test for those who can only examine its working from outside. However rare may be the failure of the tests required by the College to detect the absence of proof for a pedigree submitted to its scrutiny, it will hardly, one presumes, be questioned that such failure is possible. *Humanum est errare*. Its authorities doubtless remember that, some years ago, a pedigree which, according to one of its officers, had been "judicially dealt" with and found to be "duly proved" was publicly exposed and smashed in the recognised organ of genealogists,¹ and that no further attempt was made to vindicate its truth.

And this it is that makes the Smith-Carington pedigree a matter of public interest,—I might almost say, at this moment, of considerable public interest. For it is common knowledge that, where claims to peerage dignities are concerned, the officers of arms to whom was left, in old days, the proof of pedigree, have long ceased to be entrusted with it, the Committee for Privileges now requiring proof on modern lines. But in the matter of claims to baronetcies it is now a pressing question what proof should be required and by whom it ought to

¹ See *The Genealogist* [N. S.] X, 232 ; XI, 63, 204.

be examined. The Departmental Committee on the Baronetage, appointed by the Home Secretary, made the following weighty observations two years ago (1907):—

We do not consider that the Officers of Arms could ever be a fit tribunal, even of first instance, to try such questions as would be likely to arise, questions which, we may observe, might extend much further than the mere verification of pedigrees. Without derogating in any way from the qualifications and ability of the present Garter, Lyon, and Ulster Kings of Arms, we are of opinion that the position the Officers of Arms hold does not guarantee the necessary legal training and experience to qualify them for the task.¹

One can only say that *if* the Smith-Carington pedigree was recorded on no better evidence than that which Dr. Copinger produces, the criticism of the Departmental Committee is well within the mark.

But is there any other evidence? Let us consider the position. Dr. Copinger was writing for the family themselves, who had placed at his disposal all the material collected by Mr. Smith—"Carington" in support of the pedigree which he presented for acceptance by the College. He had to establish in his book a brand-new pedigree,—so far as genealogists are concerned, and he provides proofs of the descent. When those proofs are unsatisfactory to an expert, must we not infer that this was because there were no better ones to offer?² Especially is this the case with the real *crux* of the

¹ *Report*, p. 3.

² It is his own claim that "the disclosure of facts and verification of evidence have been his main objects" (p. 5), so that we may assume he had no mere facts to produce.

pedigree, the affiliation of Robert Smith, who was married at Nottingham in 1699, as son of 'Sir' Thomas Smith of Charley born '1578.' In view of the chronology and of other circumstances, it positively clamours for conclusive proof.

One may venture, therefore, to seek for information on six separate points.

- (1) When was this pedigree entered?
- (2) Who was the herald who recorded it?
- (3) Who was the herald who 'examined' it?
- (4) What evidence was accepted as proving that Thomas had a son Robert?
- (5) What evidence—if any—was produced to prove that Robert was identical with a Robert Smith who was married at Nottingham so late as 1699?
- (6) How did that affiliation find its way into the College records? Directly, as establishing the ancestry of Mr. Richard Smith 'Carington'? Or indirectly, by inadvertence, through the pedigree of some other family?

When these questions have been answered, all the facts will be before us, and genealogists can satisfy themselves whether the College system ensures absolute accuracy. Its authorities have here an admirable chance of proving to the world that it does so and, to that extent, of rebutting the criticism of the Departmental Committee.

With regard to the Committee's criticism of the Scottish and Irish Offices, it may be sufficient to observe that the Ulster office, in 1808, sanctioned the assumption of a baronetcy on the strength of a descent from the first baronet (cr. 1660), although

it is now admitted by that Office that he died without issue,¹ while the Marjoribanks descent recorded at the Lyon Office for Lord Tweedmouth's family was, in my opinion, effectually demolished by the late Mr. Joseph Foster in 1882-3.² As I had special knowledge of the matter, I may explain that the question at issue was Lord Tweedmouth's descent from Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, Clerk Register and Lord of Session. The descent "proved and registered"³ was this:—

Thomas Marjoribanks
of Ratho
|
James Marjoribanks
2nd son
|
Joseph Marjoribanks
(Lord Tweedmouth's ancestor).

"It is, perhaps, hardly necessary," wrote the then Lyon, "to explain that a recorded or authenticated pedigree.... must at every step be supported by the most stringent and satisfactory proof..... The strict examination, which pedigrees presented for registration have to undergo, in the absence of a contradictory, is such as to make an error, particularly in an important or essential point, extremely unlikely." It turned out, in this case, that the pedigree really rested on an admission (13 July, 1602) of "Joseph Marioribankis, second lawful sounne to umqwhile James Marioribankis" as "burges and gild brother." But Mr. Foster was able to show

¹ See Mr. Burtchaell's letter, from the Ulster Office, in *Daily Mail* of 26 June, 1905.

² *Collectanea Genealogica*, Vol. III.

³ In the words of the Lyon Clerk Depute.

that, at this period, there were in Edinburgh many men of the name of Marjoribanks, and that the *identity* (1) of the James M. in this entry with James son of the Clerk Register, and (2) of the Joseph in this entry with the Joseph who was ancestor to Lord Tweedmouth, had been assumed without proof and could not be upheld. He was able to produce another Joseph and several other Jameses, and, so far as I can judge from the records, to overthrow the pedigree.

This case, it will be seen, presents a close parallel to that of the pedigree sanctioned by Betham (Ulster King of Arms) for Lord Carrington's family, but now abandoned as being based on the mistaken identity of two John Smiths. It also turned, I have shown, on that same question of *identity* which is the great *crux* in the Smith-Carrington pedigree. For, as the *Times* observed of the Annandale peerage claims, "given the identity of a person named in one charter with a person named in another, and a genealogist can prove anything."

And there is one point more. Petitions for leave to change one's name by Royal Licence pass through the Home Office, "and the Home Office has assumed to itself the decision as to whether or not a case shall be put forward for the personal consideration of" the Sovereign.¹ I quote from 'The law concerning names and changes of names,' of which Mr. Fox-Davies is joint author, and have no reason to doubt the statements which I cite. Now the same treatise states that refusals are numerous and that they "emanate

¹ *The Genealogical Magazine*, II, 450.

from the Home Office, through which all petitions pass." ¹ If we may further accept the statement that "An application to assume a name where no descent can be shown from any family of that name, and where it is a mere matter of personal caprice, is almost invariably refused," ¹ one becomes curious to know why an exception was made in a case where such descent can be proved to have no existence. Indeed, it is not even asserted in the petition recited in the Licence, which makes the matter stranger still. That the use of a name which is based only on an old Elizabethan imposture should have received, but five years ago, the formal sanction of the Sovereign is a point, one may submit, for the careful consideration of the authorities at the Home Office.

I was once, by chance, shown some proof-sheets of Mr. Smith "Carington's" unfinished history of his family, in which he gave expression to his extreme gratification at the acceptance of his pedigree by the College, to him the crown of his labours. It had been, we learn from Dr. Copinger, "the dream of" his "life to possess again the old hall of his ancestors" (p. 362), and this ambition also was fulfilled after it had "been out of the family for 140 years" (p. 420), ² the property thus returning "to the old family proprietors" (p. 423).

More fortunate than Mr. James Dearden, the new possessor of Ashby Folville found his ancestral

¹ *Ibid.*

² It was, as a matter of fact, 282 years since Ashby Folville had been possessed by any lineal ancestor (assuming the pedigree to be correct), the connexion claimed being so remote.

monuments already in the church. Mr. Dearden, —who, like Dr. Copinger and Mr. Richard Smith-‘Carington,’ was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries,—was under the painful necessity of supplying them.¹ He also, we read, appears to have “appropriated not only to himself but to his visionary ancestors the arms of the ancient family of Rochdale.”² The Cheshire Caringtons, we have seen, were Mr. Smith’s “visionary ancestors,” and Dr. Copinger insists upon the family’s right to place the Carington arms in the first quarter of their shield (p. 6.) In the tower of Ashby Folville church the inevitable “arms” now “occupy the small compartments of the tracery; the colouring of the whole is very effective, yet subdued,” as was preferable perhaps when the light contained so stirring a subject as “an armed knight on a full (*sic*) caparisoned war-horse” (p. 447), a refreshing change from the usual scriptural or sacred theme. At Wooton Wawen also was erected, a few years ago, “to the memory of pious ancestors,” “an exceedingly fine window,” in which “Cherubim and Seraphim” are allowed to occupy some of “the traceries,” but “the other traceries contain the armorial bearings of Mr. Smith-Carington” (p. 538.) The old Elizabethan imposture has indeed come into its own.

In *The Great Metropolis* Upton Sinclair describes an experience of his here at a New York dinner party, where the ‘spring lamb’ had cost a dollar and a half a pound.

¹ Fishwick’s *History of Rochdale*, p. 148; *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 84.

² *Op. cit.*

Mrs. Winnie had a coat of arms; he had noticed it upon her auto, and again upon the great bronze gates of the Snow Palace, and again upon the liveries of her footmen, and yet again upon the decanter of Scotch. And now — incredible and appalling — he observed it branded upon the delicately browned sweetbread!

It must be nearly as difficult, at Ashby Folville, to escape from the "Carington" arms.¹

But even the discovery of his Norman lineage as heir male of the body of "Hamo de Carington" was not sufficient for Mr. Smith; there were fresh worlds for him to conquer. The Norman dukes should be his ancestors; their arms should be quartered with his own: nay, there were Scandinavian chiefs dwelling at the back of beyond; from these too he would trace his line, from "Halfdan, the old Scandinavian Chief" (doubtless of a territorial army)² who, by "Asa daughter of Gystein the Good", was father of a weird creature, "Iver Appland Jarf".³ Indeed, it was to this illustrious ancestry that the worthy nurseryman devoted his most assiduous research.⁴ His work is chiefly represented in Dr. Copinger's book by the enormous Appendix on "the families of de Lenham and Crevequer" (pp. 561-669). We are there promptly confronted by 'Halfdan', and plunge into a wondrous history of the early Norman dukes. To Dr. Copinger this "material seemed of sufficient

¹ See p. 180 above.

² Not to be confused with "St. Aldan (*sic*) represented as a Celtic bishop" in the "exquisite" Smith-Carington window at Wootton Wawen (p. 538) who is, I believe, otherwise unknown to hagiology.

³ See Dr. Copinger's chart pedigree, p. 81.

⁴ Dr. Copinger states (p. 551) that of some 234 pages of the history of his family which he had finished no fewer than 164 "dealt with the De Roos, Crevequer, De Lenham, and other families."

interest and value to justify its preservation." He cannot therefore complain if, having thus commended it, it moves his readers to mirth.

There is, for instance, the startling discovery that "William called Longsword, *Duke of Aquitaine*,¹ succeeded as 2nd Duke of Normandy" in 927! There are also delightful authorities who are carefully vouched throughout, "Jonathan Duncan, B.A." jostling "Will. Gomm" (p. 568), and Dean Spence alternating pleasantly with "Dean (!) Dudo". We here learn to our surprise that the latter wrote, not, as one had wrongly supposed, in Latin, but—in good modern French. He was privileged to know Mr. Smith's ancestress, "the beautiful and celebrated Gunnora, a damsel of pure Danish descent;" indeed, he "saw much of her and knew her character well". It is gratifying, therefore, to know that he describes her as "*une très belle femme, très adroite, accomplie et de grand esprit*". We seem to remember that her marriage to Duke Richard the Fearless took place a little late, and that "Dean Dudo" uses some plain language on the subject. For, as the other Dean shyly observes of Mr. Smith's ducal ancestors:—"The aversion of these brilliant and successful men to the Christian marriage tie is remarkable". We are not allowed to part from the dukes throughout more than 50 pages of the "History and Records of the Smith-Carington family", and the irresistible fascination of 'Halfdan' soon brings him back, but this time as a half-way house to "Odin or Woden circ. 250"; for "the ancestors of Maud d'Avranches" (whose

¹ The italics are mine.

arms Mr. Smith quartered) "can be distinctly traced in the male line without a break to Odin in the third century" (p. 656)! Even Mr. Smith's greed for ancestry could not penetrate beyond Odin; there is a point in history where Deans fail, where the darkness ceases to be even lightened by the learning of a B.A.

The adventurous explorer, however, might well be content with his spoils; he had added, as the fruits of his raid, to the arms of "his ancient house" the coats not only of the "Dukes of Normandy" and of "Rollo," their mighty sire, but those of "D'Oisy" and of "D'Arques."¹ That their alleged bearers all lived before the days of armorial bearings is a detail on which it would be cruel, and indeed needless to insist. For the pedigree breaks down at both ends. It is alleged (A) that the Crevequers were of the male line of the Norman dukes, which is certainly not proved,² and (B) that an heiress of the Lenham family (one of whom had undoubtedly married a Crevequer co-heiress) married "John Carington *alias* Smith."

The latter of these allegations requires detailed investigation; for it can be shown unfortunately, that it has been bolstered up by juggling in the strangest manner with the evidence produced.

¹ They are duly illustrated and blazoned in Dr. Copinger's book (pp. 81, 83) and the right to quarter them there shown. And they further figure as quarterings in the "Arms of Smith-Carington," which form the frontispiece; but the arms of the Dukes are there depicted as two lions passant, while on p. 81 they are "Gules, a lion rampant, or."

² The allegation is that Hugh de Crevequer (i. e. Crèveœur, Calvados), the founder of the family in Kent, was a younger brother of Robert Fitz Hamon and "Hamo dapifer," and a son, therefore, of Hamon *dentatus*, count of Corbeil. This affiliation is ignored by Dugdale and is not accepted now as proved. Moreover, Mr. Smith made Hugh die in 1119 and yet identified him with the Hugh of the Bayeux Inquest in 1133 (pp. 630, 633).

The whole of the actual evidence in support of it consists (A) of the statement in the spurious narrative that John "married Millicent Layneham, a mayden that was Robartte Laynehames daughter and heire," (B) of the fact that there was a small manor of 'Lanehams'¹ in Rivenhall, which derived its name from a family of Lenham, who held it of the lords of Rivenhall manor. But the descent of this manor has not been proved.

There is no necessity, however, to disprove the marriage, for, even if it were established, there is absolutely nothing to connect the above "Robartte Layneham"² with the Kentish house of Lenham or to prove his descent from its marriages with the heiresses of Crevequer and of 'Averenges.' And of this the author, we shall find, must have been painfully aware, for he fails to produce any evidence in its support. He gives, it is true, on p. 80 a chart pedigree of the house from the time of Richard I. to that of the alleged marriage, in which Edmund de Lenham (who held Lanehams in 1324) is shown as grand-father of the above Robert and as himself a younger son of Sir John de Lenham, the head of the house, by Margaret 'Averenges.' For this pedigree the reference vouches Harl. MS. 1137;³ but to that manuscript we refer in vain, for it contains nothing of the kind. It is simply, in fact, the visitation of Essex, and on fo. 72 it

¹ An outlier, adjoining Cressing. It is shown as 'Lavenhams' on Morant's map.

² It is worth noting that the Suffolk Lavenham was pronounced, and sometimes written, 'Laneham.'

³ We are expressly told that "the Editor has shown.... on such pedigrees.... the authorities on which the pedigree is based" (p. 6) and that "verification of evidence" has been one of "his main objects."

states that "John Smith" married "Milicent dau. and heir to Robert Leynham," a statement repeating that of the spurious narrative. All the rest of this Lenham pedigree is someone's unauthenticated concoction!

And our confidence in it is not increased by its statements: (1) that Edmund married "Alice sole heir of Alan de Builstowe" (*sic*); (2) that his niece Alianore de Lenham married Sir John Gifford "of Bures St. Mary, co. Suff."; (3) that Robert, Milicent's father, married "Alice d. and coh. of John Hende of London, 1391." For, as to the first, "*Builstowe*"¹ should be *Buildwas*, Alan being lord of Little Buildwas, co. Salop.² As to the second, Sir John Giffard (not Gifford) was lord, not of the Suffolk Bures, but of Bowers Giffard in the far south of Essex.³ And as to the third—although the author claims, on the strength of this marriage, that the Smiths were entitled to quarter the Hende coat⁴—it is certain that Sir John Hende, alderman and cloth worker of London, who was lord mayor in 1391 and died in 1418, was succeeded in his estates, mainly in Essex, by his two sons (both named John), who were successively sheriffs of the county, and that the elder of them left an only child Joan, who inherited the whole. None of the estates ever came to the Smith family although they seem in later days, on the extinction

¹ This is no misprint, for the name recurs in the same form on p. 518.

² See Eyton's *Shropshire*, VII, 322-3. There is nothing to identify his son-in-law Edmund 'de Leynham' with the Edmund of Rivenhall, but the point is immaterial.

³ And yet Dr. Copinger has made a special study of the "Manors of Suffolk."

⁴ It also appears in the frontispiece among the "Smith-Carington" quarterings.

of Sir John Hende's direct heirs, to have advanced a claim to them—which was not successful.¹

The identity and descent of the Hende estates are well ascertained. Dr. Copinger states (p. 78) that “by fine in the 8 Hen. IV. (1406)” Sir John “had settled the manors of Fering, Stysted, Coggeshall, Bockyng, Cressing, with divers other manors and lands on himself and Elizabeth his wife” etc. etc. But on reference to the fine,² we actually discover that the manors settled were (1) Little Canfield, (2) Little Chishall, (3) Bradwell (by Coggeshall) and (4) Pycotts! So much for the author's accuracy! The manors he names as settled were not Sir John's to settle. I have shown above that even if John “Carington *alias* Smith” did, as alleged in the spurious narrative, marry the heiress of Robert “Layneham”, she certainly did not inherit any of the Hende estate, so that all she can have brought her husband (if even that) was the small manor of Lanehams in Rivenhall. The *Landed Gentry* states that he obtained with her “great possessions”, and Dr. Copinger (p. 78) styles her “the heiress of a very important Essex and Kentish family”; but, on his own showing, she was nothing of the kind. She was, according to him, only the descendant and heiress of Edmund de Lenham, a younger son, who, in 1324, held in Rivenhall “one messuage and 26 acres of land with appurtenances” (p. 518). Such were the “great possessions”. It does not make the matter much less absurd when, on turning to the Inquisition cited by Dr. Copin-

¹ I take this information from another source. It may be added that even the spurious narrative does not make Sir John Hende's daughter an heiress.

² Easter term, 1407 (8 Hen. IV), file 61, No. 114.

ger,¹ we discover that the ' 26 ' should be 120.² It would seem that the usual Roman numerals employed to denote "six score" (i.e. 120.) must have actually been read by someone as denoting 26! So again we gather that the Author's references must be tested at every point.

I have said above that Dr. Copinger must have been painfully aware that there was nothing to support his statement that this Edmund de Lenham was a younger son of Sir John de Lenham (co. Kent) by Margaret "Averenges." There is, moreover, against it the fact that a plea of 10 Ric. II. assigns four sons to the marriage, and that Edmund is not among them.³ How then, does the author attempt to prove his case? He is driven to resort to a device which can only be described as desperate. The Kentish Lenhams possessed for a time the manor of *Redenhall, Norfolk*: by taking the records referring, as he must have known, to this connexion and applying them to *Rivenhall, Essex*, he endeavours to connect the family with that wholly different parish and so with Edmund de Lenham!

Morant, the historian of Essex, begins his account of Rivenhall by giving us no fewer than thirteen variants of the name; but the wholly distinct name of *Redenhall* is not, and could not be among them. Dr. Copinger begins his own account by boldly stating that Rivenhall was "variously spelt Ravenhall and Redenhall" (p. 513) and proceeds, on the strength of this assertion, to

¹ "Inquis. 18 Ed. II m. 61."

² The actual date of the Inquisition proves to be 9 July, 1325.

³ Wrottesley's *Pedigrees from the Plea-Rolls*, p. 171.

introduce in his account of *Rivenhall* (pp. 514-7) records relating to *Redenhall*, Norfolk. When I say that "he must have known" that this was what he was doing, I do so not merely because he is an expert in these matters—as we must infer from his being the author of works specially dealing with them¹—but because he actually cites, in six different footnotes, Blomefield's *Norfolk*, even giving volume and page! When for instance, we read (p. 515) that "According to Blomefield, Ralph or Roger de Lenham, the father of Nicholas, had a grant of Rivenhall," we need not even verify the reference ("Norfolk, vol. V, p. 367") to know that he is speaking of *Redenhall*, and that Dr. Copinger has coolly altered its name to that of the Essex Rivenhall. He further states (p. 514) that "in the year 1191 Robert de Crevequer is described as of Rivenhall, Essex," a statement which he supports by no reference and which cannot possibly be true, for the descent of Rivenhall is known. Yet even this is not all: we read of Robert's son, Hamo de Crevequer, that he "held Moreton, Elsenham, and Rivenhall" (p. 515), for which we are referred to "account of Crevequer family, appendix." This appendix is attributed to the late Mr. Richard Smith "Carington" and in it we find (with great difficulty) the statement (p. 654) that, on Hamo's death, he was found to have held in Essex "Elsenham Manor, Morton Manor." This statement is perfectly correct;² but Dr. Copinger has coolly added the

¹ *Suffolk Records*; *History of the Parish of Buxhall*; *History of the manors of Suffolk*, etc.

² See *Calendar of Inquis. Hen. III*, p. 172.

manor of Rivenhall, which is not in the record! ¹

Seven lines of the author's text have yielded the above three instances of the inexplicable methods he has here seen fit to employ.

But, to attain his end,—to connect, through 'Rivenhall,' Edmund de Lenham with the Kentish house—further obstacles had to be disposed of. It was not sufficient to confuse Rivenhall with Redenhall; it had further to be shown why, if the Lenhams of Kent held, as alleged, Rivenhall (or, to speak more accurately, the manor of Lanehams in Rivenhall), it did not descend to their heiress, Alianore, who married Sir John Giffard. The explanation, of course, is that the manor was never theirs. But Dr. Copinger, who asserts that it was,—having told us that Sir John and Alianore "were married in 1346, and three years later they had both passed away"—proceeds thus. :—

As they left, according to pedigrees extant, five children, the rich heiress, but poor creature, Alianore, must have twice been inflicted with twins. What is perhaps still more important the Manor of Lenham (*sic*) never seems to have brightened the lot of any one of this offspring (p. 518).

The reason why their lot was not "brightened" by possession of this manor is simply that they had no claim to it, their ancestors never having held it!

As a final illustration of Dr. Copinger's accuracy, we may take the above quotation, of which the first sentence is as wild in its statement as in the English in which he makes it. For that statement

¹ The amazing thing is that even *Redenhall* cannot have belonged to the Crevequers, for it was held (as he shows, though he calls it Rivenhall) by the Lenhams long before they shared in the Crevequer inheritance.

is based upon the fact that Alianore died in 1349, having "married in 1346." Now the inquisition on her grandmother Margaret in 1334 shows her as already the wife of John Giffard and as aged "22 years and more."¹ And an inquisition of 1336 similarly shows her as his wife, and as "aged 25 and more,"² although Dr. Copinger enters her on p. 80 as "b(orn) c(irc) 1320." Consequently the "poor creature" must have had not three, but at least fifteen years in which to produce five children, and Dr. Copinger's "twins" vanish. When we have added this correction to those already made, it will be seen that one can hardly be expected to treat his pedigrees seriously.

The attempt, in short, to trace the Lenham or Laynham ancestry through the descent of this small sub-manor in Rivenhall collapses. That word, indeed, but feebly expresses its irreparable breakdown. It fails at every point. If it seems to have been dealt with at excessive length, the reason for such thorough criticism is that on it hangs so large a portion of Dr. Copinger's volume. It is only on this slender thread that hang the great pedigrees of Crevequer (pp. 81-2) and D'Avranches (p.83) together with that of Maminot (p.80), to say nothing of the proud quarterings that are now claimed in their right (p. 79). On it, also, alone depends the great Appendix on "the families of De Lenham and De Crevequer" (pp. 561-669), with the descent from the Norman Dukes, which proved to Mr. Smith 'Carington' the most

¹ 4 May, 8 Edw. III. *Cal. Inq.* Vol. VII, p. 409 (n° 599).

² 3 Feb. 10 Edw. III. *Ibid.* n° 706.

fascinating study of all. The whole of this, as I have said, depends on the slender thread of the Lenham pedigree, and, in spite of the strenuous attempts naturally made to prove it, I do not hesitate to say that of the descent of Millicent "Layneham"—alleged by the spurious narrative to have married John Carington *alias* Smith—from the marriage of Nicholas de Lenham (Kent) with the Crevequer heiress in the 13th century, there has not been produced any proof whatever.

Satis superque. Of the "History and Records of the Smith-Carington family from the Conquest to the present time" enough and more than enough has been said. Those who have expended their five guineas in this work of "very considerable general historical importance," as it proclaims itself in its prospectus, may be tempted to admit that, as there stated, it "is one of the most remarkable genealogical investigations ever carried out." They will learn what Dr. Copinger considers to be a pedigree "fully verified..... in the direct male line to the Conquest." They may even deem him emulous of those bells of Ashby Folville, which proclaim, in the church tower itself (p. 447),

We'll praise, whene'er we ring,
Our Squire and his good lady."

though an older bell has the bad taste to be rung to the glory of God.¹ They may feast their eyes on a photogravure of the Manchester residence of this ancient house, or learn how the Manchester

¹ Inscription of 1739.

architect to whom its "restoration was intrusted" (*sic*) produced at its ancestral home an "imposing general result." But enough of this vast "family history of great genealogical and historical interest," with its Manchester imprint at the end and its Manchester Professor on the title-page. *Solvitur ridendo.*

THE *GESTE* OF JOHN DE COURCY

Medieval historical romances—The demon-countess of Anjou—The knight of the swan—Melusine—Haimo's demon-wife—The 'Gesta Herewardi'—Fulk Fitz-Warine—Mythical deeds of real men—Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion—The 'gesta' of John de Courcy—The Book of Howth—Sir Amore 'Tristram'—John de Courcy's capture—Romance parallels—Capture of Hereward—John's imprisonment—His great feat—Romance parallels—Colbrand the Dane—John's reward—The 'hat' story—Its growth—Licences to wear the 'bonet'—'Randolf, erle of Chestre'—His lost 'geste'—'The fair of Lincoln'—The earl as hero.

In his preface to the Rolls series edition of Ralf de Coggeshall Father Stevenson makes some observations on the story of Fulk Fitz Warin¹ which will serve as an excellent introduction to the subject of this paper.

The adventures of Fulk Fitz Warin... form a good example of a certain species of narrative which was very popular during the Middle Ages, not only in our own country, but upon the continent... Reared upon a basis of truth, more or less broad according to circumstances, is erected a large and ambitious superstructure of fable, the marvels of which are due to the inventive powers of the *trouveur*. There is no lack of narratives of this kind ; indeed it would not be easy to exhaust their titles. It may be enough to specify the poems of Beowulf,

¹ The text of which (from the Brit. Mus. MS.) he appended to Ralf's chronicle.

Havelock, and Grim, among our Saxon ancestors ; the lay of the Nibelungen for the north of Europe ; the romances of Charlemagne and his Paladins, and of the Cid Campeador for the south ; while within the limits of our own country we possess those remarkable cycles of legends of which King Arthur, Gawin, Guy of Warwick, and Bevis of Hampton are respectively the central figures. Coming down to a later period, and falling somewhat more closely within the jurisdiction of history, are the metrical life of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the ballads of Robert Hood, the outlaw of Sherwood Forest, and the life of William Wallace, which a widespread tradition ascribes to Blind Harry. Each of these narratives, be it prose or poetry, possesses, along with a substratum of history, a large proportion of the alloy of fiction ; and these are so intermixed and mingled that it is always difficult to specify the exact line at which the history ends and the fiction begins.¹

In addition to those here named we have the legendary history of Hereward, of which I shall speak below. But there was, as it seems to me, about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, quite a group of notable men who became the heroes of legendary tales. These were Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Fulk Fitz Warine himself, Eustache le Moine (connected with the history both of France and of England), John de Courcy, and Randolf, Earl of Chester. I do not include their great contemporary, William the Marshal, in the list, because, although he became the hero of a long narrative poem, it is merely historical in character, and does not include, as in the other cases, deliberate fiction or romance. Of the five named above two are well-known roman-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. xxi.

ces ; ¹ Eustache was the subject of a French romance ; of John de Courcy no 'geste' has, it would seem, been suspected ; Earl Randolf is believed to have been (on the strength of a single allusion) the subject of a ballad-cycle, but no trace or fragment of it has yet, it seems, been discovered.

Fulk Fitz-Warine and Eustache le Moine par-took like Hereward, John de Courcy, and the mythical Robin Hood, of that outlaw character which romancers seem to have found peculiarly attractive. ² Like Fulk Fitz-Warine, John de Courcy seems to have been alternately in rebellion and in favour, under King John, ³ as Hereward and Eadric, possibly, had been under King William.

It is the object of this paper to show that John was the subject of a *Geste* and to disentangle its mythical tales from the true history of its hero. At the close there will be added some observations on what I believe to be a fragment of the lost *Geste* of "Randolf, earl of Chester."

We have to deal, in these romances, with a singularly interesting department of the literature of the Middle Ages. Between the pure romances, such as "Amys and Amylion," "Sir Isumbras," "Ipomedon," and so forth, and *l'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* ⁴ there lay a vast tract of

¹ Ward's *Catalogue of romances*, I, 944-950 (Richard) ; I, 501-508 (Fulk).

² I do not add to their names that of Eadric the Wild, the famous outlaw of the Conqueror's day, because there does not seem to be any connected history of him, though the *Monasticon* preserves, under Wigmore Abbey, some mythical details of his struggle with Ralf de Mortimer. See also below.

³ See my detailed account of John's chequered career in vols. III and IV. of the *Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer* (1883).

⁴ Ed. Paul Meyer 1891-1901. The editor describes it as 'un document historique de premier ordre' and "le type le plus remarquable d'un genre dont il ne nous est parvenu que de rares spécimens." He compares *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*.

mingled history and romance. In the celebrated "cycle of Charlemagne" a very famous monarch becomes the central figure; but in other cases an historical character is the subject of a separate story in which a varying proportion of fiction is combined with the facts of his career. It were tempting to pursue the subject in its purely literary aspect and to contrast with these medieval tales the historical novel of to-day. The historian, however, must refrain from wandering far afield, although he must prepare the reader's mind for the drastic rejection of alleged facts by illustrating the daring character of these romancers' statements and the liberties they took with truth.

Take, as definite illustrations, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Hereward, or Fulk Fitz-Warine. Perhaps Richard's case is the most amazing of all. Mr. Hewlett, indeed, greatly daring, does, in his 'Richard Yea and Nay,' make our warrior King marry, in defiance of history, "Jehane de Saint Pol" and crown her Countess at Angers. But this is frankly recognised as a piece of historical fiction, even if it somewhat exceeds the limits permissible in such work. When, however, we turn to the medieval romance, it is by no means clear to what extent its purely fictitious portions would be recognised as such or distinguished from the actual facts of Richard's career. His capture when making his way across Europe in disguise is a fact which "every schoolboy" knows, but, instead of placing it after the crusade, the romance assigns it to his return from a purely imaginary pilgrimage to Palestine before the crusade, and mixes it up

with an imaginary King, whose imaginary daughter provides the usual lovesick princess with the help of whose borrowed kerchief Richard tears the heart from out the usual lion, and thus obtains his famous name, which was doubtless claimed as proof that the whole tale was true.

The extraordinary daring of romancers in associating with real personages—even Kings themselves—the wildest fictions of their fancy is perhaps most vividly shown in their making Henry the Second marry, not Eleanor of Aquitaine, but a princess of demoniacal origin, Cassodorien, daughter of Corbarino, King of Antioch !

In its original form, as told by Gerald the Welshman, the tale applies only to a nameless ancestress of Henry, the demon-countess of Anjou. Scraping together all the scandal on which he can lay hands as to Henry's origin, he first repeats the wild story that his mother the Empress Maud had married his father in the lifetime of her first husband, the Emperor Henry, who was living as a hermit at Chester,¹ and then tells us how "a certain countess of Anjou, of great beauty but of unknown extraction and married only for her bodily charm," rarely went to church, and always left before the elevation of the Host. At length, when, by the count's orders, four knights endeavoured to detain her, she caught up two of her little sons and flew away through a high window.

¹ Gerald also tells this story in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ* (Ed. Dimock, p. 140) in conjunction with the similar yarn that Harold had survived the battle of Hastings and lived long afterwards as a hermit at Chester, a tale, it would seem, widely believed. The emperor Henry is known to have died in 1125.

Nor were she or the two boys ever seen again.¹

This, of course, is merely one of the Swan-maiden group of folk-tales, found in various forms all over the world. It belongs to those taboo stories in which a breach of the taboo is followed by the flight or disappearance of the wife so strangely acquired. Gerald's contemporary, Walter 'Map,' also an archdeacon, tells, as an historical fact, another variant of the tale, and applies it to a very real person, Eadric 'the Wild.' He, we read, had captured an unearthly maid of great beauty for his wife, and took her with him to London that the Conqueror might see her at court. But, after years of married life, he broke the taboo she had warned him against, and she vanished out of his sight.²

Gerald had at least refrained from identifying the demon-countess, but the author of King Richard's *Geste* had, as I have said, no such scruples. According to him, Henry had declined, when twenty years of age, to marry any woman but the most beautiful in the world. When 'Cassodorien' was found to fulfil this condition, he married her out of hand, but she shrank—like Queen Elizabeth—from the elevation of the Host, which threw her into an alarming swoon. By Henry she became mother of two sons, Richard and John, and of a daughter, 'Topyas'! After fifteen years of married life, during which she had refrained from attending mass, she was one day forcibly detained; but, at the sound of the bell, she flew into the air, carrying with her John and her daughter.

¹ *De principis instructione* (Rolls Series) p. 301.

² *De nugis curialium*, II, cap. 12.

John fell from the air, in that stound,
 And brake his thigh on the ground ;
 And with her daughter she fled away,
 That never after she was y-seye.

Henry, we learn, did not long survive her loss.

We can understand Gerald 'Cambrensis' telling his wild tale, and even Richard, as he asserts, recklessly saying of the family strife—'From the devil we came: to the devil we shall go.' The point, however, that I wish to make is that in the *Geste* we have real persons, and even real kings, of then comparatively recent date, jumbled up with the wildest fictions and with tales of folk-lore origin.

But one of our Queens also came of the unearthly brood. In 'The Red Book of the Exchequer'—of all unlikely places—we may read the tale of the swan (*de cigno*).¹ Godfrey de Bouillon (*Buillon*), surnamed 'Alakete', had died leaving a wife and an only daughter. Upon Reiner duke of Lorraine invading their lands, they appealed for help to the Roman Emperor. As with John de Courcy, there was to be a single combat, but no man dared to face Duke Reiner in the field. Then, beneath the castle wall of Bouillon there appeared a swan, a golden chain about its neck, drawing after it a skiff from which—as we have seen at Covent Garden—there leapt forth a gallant knight, who fought Reiner, defeated him, and cut off his head, exactly as we might expect. On him the Emperor bestowed the hand of the heiress, by whom he was father of a daughter Yda, who marrying Eustace, count of Boulogne, was grandmother of Maud,

¹ *Liber rubens de scaccario*, p. 753.

Stephen's Queen.¹ Eventually, when the knight's death was approaching, his wife pressed him to reveal his origin. Thereupon the swan returned, and the knight, entering the boat, departed as he had come.

That this tale is a variant of the swan-maiden group is obvious from the incident of the taboo and its breach; for a prohibition to learn the name of the mysterious visitant is a feature met with in these tales.

For yet another variant of the tale we return to Walter Map. The tale he tells closely resembles the famous legend of Melusine, the unearthly ancestress of the house of Lusignan, as told by Jean d'Arras in his much later work. Melusine, of no known origin, was found, near a lovely spring, by Raimondin, her future husband, who was struck by her strange beauty, and whom she consented to marry on condition that he never attempted to see her on a Saturday. At length, taunted by his brother, he rushed to her quarters on a Saturday, and boring a hole through a door with his sword, beheld her splashing in her bath, a serpent from her waist downwards,² in fact a mermaid. Taxed afterwards with being a "tresfaulce serpente," she eventually left husband and sons, flying to a window,³ and leaping thence in the form of a flying serpent (i.e. a dragon).⁴ Here we have, as it

¹ See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 152.

² "du nombril en bas en signe de la queue d'une serpente grosse comme ung quaque à harenc."

³ "saillist sur une fenestre..... aussi legierement comme se elle eut vollé ou en elles" (ailes).

⁴ "laissa la fenestre, et saillist en l'air,..... et lors se mua en forme de serpent moult grande..... Ainsi s'en ala Melusine, semblent de serpent vollant par l'air."

would seem, an awkward combination of the swan-maiden, who flies, with the mermaid, or serpent-woman, who swims, but the connexion with water, the taboo and its breach, and, above all, the descent of illustrious progeny from the marriage, are all there.¹

Map's hero, "Henno dentatus," is not identified by his editor, but I propose, by an emendation, to read his name as Heimo (*i.e.* Haimo). Here then we have a famous man, Hamo "of the mighty teeth"²—the "Haimo dentatus" of William of Malmesbury—who charged and overthrew his lord at the battle of Val-ès-Dunes (1047), only to be carried off the field himself, dead upon his shield. By the sea-shore, on the Norman coast, he had found, as a youth, a lovely maiden, wrecked, as she told him, "with dovelike innocence," on her way to be married to the King of France. "Henno," addressed as "Flower of youths, adorable light of mankind," fell madly in love with her, entrusted her to his mother's care, married her, and became the father of most lovely children. But, Alas! she had one failing, a horror of holy water and an inability to be present at the consecration of the Host. She always arrived when the first was over, and left before the second.³

Her mother-in-law, suspecting the worst,—the recognised rôle of the mother-in-law, even in those

¹ Gervase of Tilbury tells what is practically the Melusine story,—that of a woman who, on breach of the taboo, turns into a serpent,—of Raymond of Rousset castle in the province of Aix.

² Mr. Freeman vaguely supposes "some personal peculiarity," but Map expressly states "*sic a dentium magnitudine dictus*." Melusine herself had a son, "Geuffroy au grant dent."

³ "*aspersionem aquæ benedictæ vitabat, horamque corporis dominici et sanguinis conficiendi caute præveniebat fuga*."

remote days,—bored for herself a peephole into the lady's chamber, and, early on Sunday morning, when her husband had gone to church, beheld her, on entering her bath,—change into “a dragon.” The lady would probably have retorted that, in the case of her mother-in-law, no change was necessary. The reality, however, of her own change is proved by the fact that, “on leaving the bath, she tore to fragments with her teeth the new cloak which her maid had laid out” in readiness! She then resumed human form. The mother-in-law hastened to her son with her story of the wondrous doings of this quick-change artist: a priest was summoned; taken by surprise, she was sprinkled with holy water; with a sudden leap she sprang through the roof, and, with a loud shriek of woe, vanished from her home.¹

“Her descendants,” we read, “are many.”² These words confirm my belief that we are dealing with *Haimo dentatus*, “the forefather of men famous in British as well as in Norman history.”³ For, evidently, Walter Map is speaking of the ancestor of known people. But according to two family histories published of recent years,⁴ he was also the cherished forefather of houses extant among us, whom Walter Map would thus endow with a

¹ The writer's theological comments may be left in a learned tongue: “Nec miremini si Dominus ascendit corporaliter, cum hoc permiserit creaturis, quas etiam necesse sit deorsum invitas trahi.”

² “Hujus adhuc extat multa progenies.” *De Nugis Curialium*. (Ed. Wright), p. 170.

³ Mr. Freeman proceeds to make him father of Robert Fitz Hamon, though citing William of Malmesbury, who definitely styles him Robert's “avus”. But the point is one of difficulty.

⁴ *The History of the Granville family*. By Rev. Roger Granville (1895); *History and records of the Smith-Carrington family*. By Dr. Copinger (1907).

demon ancestress. Let us hope that they may not be tempted to say with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who found himself in like plight, that "from the devil they had come; and to the devil they would go."¹ Mr. Smith "Carington," who delighted in his newly-acquired ancestor, claimed Hamon as "a perfect Paladin," but reluctantly confessed that of his wife "no details are obtainable."² For a demon ancestress he might even have abandoned the fond hope that she was at least a bastard daughter of Duke Robert.³

Let me, however, make my point. Here are two literary archdeacons representing men of their own time as of demoniacal origin. We have to think ourselves back into the thoughts of such an age as that. Perhaps it is not, after all, so long a journey as it may seem. But were there any limits to archidiaconal credulity? And is that credulity, even now, wholly extinct? One does not know. Mr. Maskelyne, possibly, could tell us.

A striking instance of the attribution to a very real man of wholly fabulous achievements is that of the famous Hereward. The noteworthy feature of the *Gesta Herewardi* is found, not in the character of the deeds, which are rather fantastic than incredible to the men, at least, of those days, but in the writer's alleged extraordinary care to ascertain the facts. There are the usual wanderings, the usual villain, the usual beautiful princess, and

¹ "de diabolo namque eos omnes venisse et ad diabolum dicebat ituros esse." *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls Series) VIII, 301.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 595, 607. Compare p. 248 above.

³ "Aeliz de alia concubina" according to Robert de Torigni. Dr. Copinger, *more suo*, names her 'Adiz' (p. 82). The Granville book assigns to Hamon quite a different wife, a sister of the Emperor Otho.

all the episodes familiar in a romance of chivalry. And yet the writer, on his own showing, is no romancer ; he derives his knowledge partly from the work of Hereward's own chaplain, Leofric, and partly from the oral information of those who had seen and talked with him and of some even who had been his comrades from the first (*a principio illius*). Mr. Davis, indeed, definitely states that "the fables about the early wanderings of Hereward..... occur only in the *Gesta* and are derived from Leofric alone", and that as "these, as reported in the *Gesta*, are purely fabulous, it is probable that the poem, whether contemporary with Hereward or not, was a mere romance."¹ But I cannot myself read the *Gesta* as giving these adventures on Leofric's authority alone.

Let us be fair, however, even to a writer of romance. Mr. Freeman sarcastically wrote :

Hereward goes to "quidam regulus Cornubie, Alef vocabulo", who, as he was called after the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, most likely held his court at Marazion. The romance does not venture on any name for the Irish prince whom Hereward visits, but when he is shipwrecked in Flanders, instead of the renowned Baldwin, he comes across, "Comes terræ illius, Manasar vocatus nomine".²

To Mr. Freeman, who was always the historian in a hurry, "Manasar", doubtless seemed as absurd a name for a count as "Alef" for a local prince. But what the *Gesta* says is that Hereward "ejectus iterum in Flandriam, Sanctum Bertinum naufragium

¹ Appendix on "The Hereward Legend" in *England under the Normans and Angevins*.

² *Norman Conquest* (1871), IV, 807.

pertulit". Now, corrupt and fantastic as the *Gesta* is, there is some method in its madness. St. Omer was the home of Harold's alleged bride, Turfrida, and 'St. Bertin' can only stand for the famous abbey of that name at St. Omer. While at St. Omer, he is summoned by Baldwin, a famous knight of that province, to a fight with the *vidame* of Picquigny;¹ and the Count "de Ginnis" also figures in the story. The scene of his exploits, therefore, is well defined, and, unfortunately for Mr. Freeman, Manasses was a family name with the Counts of Guînes.² Confused, therefore, though the story is, the name itself is not absurd, but very much the reverse. One is reminded of his luckless ridicule of Froude for his "grotesque" error in speaking of the ship "Ark Royal" as the "Ark Raleigh", when Froude, as it happened, was perfectly correct.³

The case of Fulk Fitz-Warine is in some ways more startling, because, living as he did at a later date than Hereward, he was much nearer to the men who heard his story told,⁴ and was also the subject of entries in prosaic public records. Moreover, the persons introduced by name had a very real existence. His 'cousins,' Baldwin de Hodnet and Audolf de Bracy (of Meols-Brace), and men like Walter de Huggeford (Higford) were all identified with ease by Eyton, the learned historian of Shropshire. A story which begins, in the

¹ "vicecomitem (*sic*) de Pynkenni."

² See my *Geoffrey de Manderville*, p. 397. The *Gesta* reads "Manasar Vetus nomine."

³ See my article on "Professor Freeman" in *Quarterly Review*, No. 349, p. 32.

⁴ Wright considered that the original poem (now lost) was "written very soon after the middle of the thirteenth century", that is, only some thirty years after Fulk's death.

Conqueror's time, with an encounter between Payn Peverel and the foul fiend "en semblance Gogmagog" does not inspire confidence; and yet Wright claimed that "the general outline of the history is undoubtedly true, and many of the incidents are known from other evidence to have happened exactly or nearly as here related; but," he admitted, "it is equally certain that others are untrue and some are strangely misplaced."¹ And the author, we even read, "when his hero once took to sea, and left the English shores, seems to have considered that he was allowed free scope for his imagination."²

To take but one of Fulk's adventures oversea, we have his rescue of the daughter of the Duke of Carthage, "the fairest maiden who was known in the kingdom of Iberia". She had been carried off from her father's castle by a "flying dragon" to his eyrie. Fulk, taking with him his cousin Audolf de Bracy, scaled the mountain and saw the dragon flying in the air towards them, casting forth "smoke and flames most horrible" from its mouth. Even when Fulk had cut off its tail, the roaring monster clawed Audolf through his hauberk as he defended the damsel. We cannot tell to what extent the Shropshire folk believed such tales as these of men whom they and their fathers had known, but we must agree with Wright that probably Fulk's "adventures in Spain and Barbary were adopted from some of the current romances of the day, and they, therefore, are quite out of the pale of sober

¹ *The history of Fulk Fitz-Warine* (Warton Club), p. XIII.

² *Ibid.* p. XVII.

criticism". That is one of the points we have to bear in mind.

Mr. Ward, in his interesting observations on this romance, goes further and names some of the romances which the author must have had in mind. It seems to me that this element points to a poem intended to arouse popular interest, as the story certainly did, rather than to a mere family chronicle, as Wright considered it to be, composed by a retainer of the house.

There is, however, another point, which has a more direct bearing on the *Geste* of John de Courcy. Wright observed that

Strangely enough, in that part of the history which comes nearest to the time of the narrator, the wild adventures of Fulk fitz Warine during his outlawry, it is assumed that King John was continually present in England, whereas we know from the most undoubted authority that he was during the whole time absent in Normandy. (p. xiii).

Mr. Ward wrote that

In like manner we may feel quite certain that Fulk did not capture King John once or twice; and it is almost superfluous to examine the evidence afforded by John's Itinerary, which shows that he was in Normandy, instead of Windsor or Westminster, during the greater part of the outlawry, and that he was never at that time in Gloucester, as he is here represented.¹

Returning for a moment to the *Geste* of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, we may detect a peculiar feature somewhat akin to a feature of great difficulty in the *Geste* of John de Courcy. The "secondary

¹ *Op. cit.* I, 504.

heroes," as Mr. Ward terms them, of the former romance are Sir Thomas de Multon and Sir Fulk Doyly, of whom the former seems, though known, to have been of relatively small note, while Fulk is a person so obscure, that his very identity is in some doubt. Yet these two men are Richard's chosen companions and are even placed on a par, as commanders of divisions, with the Kings of England and of France, when the host makes its fabled march against Nineveh and 'Babylon'! Mysterious as is the prominence thus falsely assigned to them, ⁴ it seems to present a striking parallel to that which in the other romance is assigned to Sir Amore 'Tristram,' who, though, in real life, comparatively obscure, and wholly unknown to the chroniclers, is made in the romance to share the struggles and the triumphs of his brother-in-arms, John de Courcy. The limelight is for John and for Richard; they are both paragons of valour; but in this the romances barely exaggerate what the chroniclers have told us. Where they startle us is in what they record of Sir Thomas, Sir Fulk and Sir Amore. The high position and the great deeds of Sir Thomas and Sir Fulk are sheer fiction: those of Sir Amore, I propose to show, belong to the same class.

⁴ There is good ground for believing that in real life they were neighbours in Lincolnshire. Mr. Ward's industrious research has shown (*op. cit.* p. 946) that they held lands in the Lincolnshire Holland and were both charged with persecuting the monks of Crowland. But he overlooked the important entry in *Testa de Nevill*, p. 346, which localises for us the holding of Fulk "de Oyri", the more obscure of the two, as 14 carucates in Holbeach, Whaplode, and Gedney (between Spalding and the Wash), held of the Earl of Albemarle as about a quarter of a knight's fee. Thomas de Moulton ('Multon') was lord of Moulton, etc., held of the Prior of Spalding, just to the west of him.

For the wondrous deeds of John de Courcy we must start from the tantalising hint which Gerald gives us in the words with which he closes the eighteenth chapter of his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Book II:—

Sed haec de Johanne summatim, et quasi sub epilogo commemorantes, grandiaque ejus gesta suis explicanda scriptoribus relinquentes, Dubliniam de cetero revertamur.

These words seem at least to point to an expectation that a history of John's deeds would be written and to a much fuller knowledge of them, from some source or other, than the writer's epitomised narrative would convey.

Whether there was already in existence an oral or written narrative of John's adventurous career—possibly in verse,¹ it is certain that such a narrative was eventually compiled, and that, although the MS. itself appears to be lost, it is possible to identify and recover a considerable portion of its contents.

Twenty-six years ago, in a paper on 'The Book of Howth'² I pointed out that the whole subject had been confused and obscured by Mr. Brewer's inexplicable blunder in treating as a "translation of the Conquest of Ireland, made by order of Primate Dowdall," what his own footnote distinctly showed to be a book containing the things *not* found in 'the Conquest of Ireland'!³ These things I speak of as the *Geste*. In addition to such portions of this work as the "Book of Howth"

¹ As with "The song of Dermot and the Earl" or "L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal."

² *The Antiquary* (1883), VII, 196-9, VIII, 21-24, 116-9.

³ *Book of Howth*, p. xv.

incorporated (in the days of Elizabeth) we have the brief narrative from some 'Annals of Ireland' in 'the Laud MS.' printed by Mr. Gilbert in *The Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin* (Rolls Series), II, 309.

It is fortunate for us that the Lord of Howth kept entirely distinct those portions of his narrative which he reproduced from 'Giraldus' and those which he derived from the *Geste*. Had he endeavoured to combine or harmonise them, it would have been extremely difficult to disentangle his sources. Having, for instance, first given us (p. 79) the true story, from 'Giraldus,' of John's arrival in Ireland with William Fitz Audeline at Wexford, where they landed in the King's peace, he subsequently gives us (p. 92), from the *Geste*, the wholly fictitious version, according to which his first landing was not at Wexford, but at Howth; not with William Fitz Audeline, but with "Sir Amorey Tristram"; not in the King's peace, but in the midst of foes. This wresting of historical facts obviously points to a Howth influence, to someone's wish to connect the great and illustrious John as closely as possible with Howth and to claim a share in the famous deeds of a great historical character, for a man comparatively obscure, of whom we barely know the existence.¹

That it was the Elizabethan lord who thus tampered with history, in order to aggrandise his ancestor, I do not believe for a moment. In the first place he would not have made his story contradict itself in this clumsy manner, but would

¹ Compare p. 273 above.

have endeavoured to harmonise it : in the second, he is quoting, as it seems to me, a narrative of early composition which bears the distinctive marks of a romance of chivalry. Breaking off abruptly from the text of the *Expugnatio*, at the point where Gerald hints that others may write of John's mighty deeds, he again charges the chronicler with wilfully disparaging John, whose wondrous feats he omitted.

Me-think it strange that Gerald Camerus, vicar, made no more account of Sir John Coursy, being the first Earl of Oulster and Lord of Conoghe. He neither gave him his name of honour, neither yet the twenty part of his right commendations, and for that he was refused by the said Sir John to be general vicar and secretary to the Prince at the coming of King (*sic*) John with whom he came. You may see what the world is, that vanity draweth truth aside, as it shall appear hereafter of other things which the said Camerus did for displeasure (p. 91).¹

Then begins the fictitious history, as the *Geste* must have contained it.

This Sir John de Coursy being of the house of Bretayne by his mother's side, was one of the strongest men that then was in Europa. The valiantest, the fairest, the courtest, the soberest, the wisest, the fiercest in Europa was not his like.² When he was sent by the prince

¹ This charge—most unjust in view of Gerald's actual language about John—is made before (p. 84) and after (p. 117) the above passage. "This story and divers others of the thrice noble and worthy conqueror, that none his peer was in all Europe for the manliness and stalworthness with his own hand, I mean Sir John de Coursy, Earl of Ulster, was left out of the book written by Geraldus Cameranse, Archdeacon of Llandaff in England, and yet he was sent by the King with his son John to Ireland for the declaration of the truth." "This much Cameransse left out in his book aforesaid, with other things, more for displeasure than any truth to tell, the cause afore doth testify."

² Compare the glowing character of his contemporary, Richard I in the *Itinerarium*, II, 45.

into Ireland it was given him by patent so much as he had win in Ireland of any land, he and his friends whom he listed to prefer that should enjoy, without charge or tribute, for his reward of service, saving homage.

That said Sir John Coursy was in friendship with a worthy knight, Sir Amore Tristerame, now called Saint Larans, by reason the said Sir Amorey married his sister, and being in talk together in Our Lady Church in France in Rone, did agree together than what the said Sir John Coursy or he had win in any realm, either by service or other, should be divided between them, and upon this they companied together, as followeth, in France, in Angeou, Normandy, and England ; and now sent into Ireland, as is aforesaid, and took a bark and landed first at Houthe, where as a cruel battle was fought beside a bridge as they landed. Then Sir John Cowrsy, being sore sick, or some other impediment, aboard the ship was absent then ; and by reason that Sir Amore then and there was chieftain in the field, which stalworthly and knightly did use himself, this same was allotted to him for his part of the Conquest at the beginning, with other things, by the said Sir John Coursey.

The whole of this is sheer fiction. Apart from what has been said above as to its conflict with history, it is to be observed that Ulster, which was John's real conquest, was not divided with " Sir Amore," and that Howth, a comparatively small possession, was not John's to give, having nothing to do with Ulster.¹ As for Sir Amore

¹ Indeed the lords of Howth themselves knew quite well that they owed their enfeoffment at Howth to King John ; for the ' Book of Howth ' itself contains this memorandum : " Memd. quod 13 die Febr. anno regni R. E. 14 (1285/6) venit Nicholaus Dominus de Howth in pleno Scaccario et..... juratus de veritate dicenda, recognovit quod antecessores sui feoffati fuerunt a Johanne rege Angliæ, avi prædicti R. Edwardi, de terris et tenementis suis de Houthe, unde dicit se habere cartam ipsius R. Johannis. Idem etiam N. recognovit quot prædicti antecessores sui facere consueverunt sectam ad comitatum Dublin. Et dicit quod ipse Nicholaus per corpus fecit hactenus servitium suum ad portam castri Dublin " etc. (p. 227).

"Tristram," his descendant was sore put to it as to his real name. On his first appearance (p. 81) he is simply styled "Sir Amorey de Sancto Laurensino,"¹ but in the second instalment of his exploits (p. 91) he becomes "Sir Amorey Tristrame, now called Saint Larans." As a matter of fact, in actual records, he is "Amauricus de Houthe,"² and as the family called themselves, in later days, either St. Lawrence or Howth, the former, clearly, was their true surname, and the latter that which they derived from their estate.

"Tristram," therefore, we must owe to the romancer's invention alone; and the name is derived, of course, from the well-known "Sir Tristram" of the Arthurian cycle. The author of "The Book of Howth" may even have deemed him an ancestor, for on pp. 237-8 he copies out the tale of Sir Tristram and La Belle Isoude "in the time of King Arthur." The peerage books found it hard to explain how the name of Tristram came to be changed to St. Lawrence, but one used to read in 'Burke' that

a member of the house of Tristram, having the command of an army against the invaders of his native (*sic*) soil, attacked and totally routed them on St. Lawrence's day, near Clontarffe, and assumed, in consequence of a vow made previously to the battle, the name of the saint, which his descendants have ever since borne.

and one still reads in that 'authoritative' work (1909) that

¹ And on p. 84 we read of "Lyonell Saint Larans, Sir Amore's nephew", the name being thus recognised as that of the family. Moreover, on p. 92 we are told that at the first landing "there was slain *of the Saint Larans* at that battle seven sons, uncles and nephews of Sir Amore's."

² "Amauricus de Houede" in *Cartulary of St. Mary's, Dublin*, I, 77.

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The original name of this ancient family was Tristram and was changed to that of St. Lawrence.

Sir Amoricus or Amory Tristram, 1st Baron, the brother-in-law and companion of Sir John de Courcy, in 1177, effected a landing at Howth, defeated the Irish in a battle at the bridge of Ivoca, and obtained the lands and barony (by tenure) of Howth as a reward for his distinguished valour during the conflict. After this successful commencement, Sir Amoricus with Sir John de Courcy reduced the whole province of Ulster, etc., etc.

Even in the *Genealogical Magazine*, the special organ of Mr. Fox-Davies, one similarly reads that—

The family name of the Earls of Howth—whose residence the castle has been for six centuries—is (*sic*) Tristram. This surname was exchanged for St. Lawrence from the fact that Sir Amory Tristram, on St. Lawrence's day 1177, effected a landing at Howth and defeated the Irish in a battle, obtaining as a reward the lands and barony of Howth. The sword with which he fought still hangs in the hall of Howth Castle, etc.¹

On the death, the other day, of the last Earl of Howth,² Sir Amore Tristram, accordingly, came well to the front, the press giving us as sober

¹ Vol. I, p. 383. Yet Mr. Fox-Davies strenuously insists that "the assumption of a name of mere motion is an improper assumption,..... inasmuch as no man has the right to assume a name without the licence of the Crown." (*Ib.* II, 447-8).

As to the sword, Selden (in his notes on the Poly-Olbion) asserts that the sword of (the fabulous) Sir Bevis "is kept as a relique in Arundel Castle." And the mystical *ensis Tristrami* was famous in mediaeval story. We read in De La Flamma how, in 1339, on opening the sepulchre of a King of the Lombards, a sword was found by his side; and on its deeply-gashed blade were found the words "Cel est l'espee de meser Tristant dont il ocest l'Amoryt de Irlant."

² But not necessarily the last holder of the ancient barony. For my own discovery of an unknown Lord Howth (1643-9), on the Essex and Suffolk border, which may bear on the succession, see *Complete Peerage*, VIII, 425-6.

history, among the news of the day, an echo of Arthurian romance.

But why criticise the poor peerage-writers when the whole absurd story of the origin of the lords of Howth is even enshrined in the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*? To the pen of its assistant-editor, Mr. E. Irving Carlyle,¹ we owe the statements that

Their ancestor, Almaric de (*sic*) Tristram landed in Ireland with De Courci in 1176, and having distinguished himself by his conduct in the first engagement with the Irish at the Hill of Howth, received as his reward the grant of the district. He assumed the name of St. Lawrence after defeating the Danes near Clontarf on St. Lawrence's day, and fell in battle in 1189.²

One knows not whether to admire the more the 'de' grotesquely interpolated before the name Tristram or the crediting of the knight with defeating the Danes in the famous battle of Clontarf, which was fought—not on St. Lawrence's but on St. George's day—a hundred and sixty two years before he landed in Ireland³ ("in 1176"). But this may be history "as she is taught" at Lincoln College, Oxford.

When Fulk Fitz-Warine went to France, we read, he took the name of "Amys del Boys," and was addressed as "Sire Amys." The writer surely took that name from the well-known French romance of Amys and Amylion.⁴ Again, in Bar-

¹ Fellow and tutor of Lincoln College, and, as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, doubtless a distinguished historian.

² Vol. L, p. 153.

³ This was the famous and only known defeat of the Danes at Clontarf.

⁴ I do not find this point noted by the commentators on the Fulk romance.

bary he takes the name of "Maryn le perdu." Is it not possible that the name "Tristram" was similarly bestowed by the romancer on Amore when he went to Ireland like the fabled Sir Tristram?¹

The note of Arthurian romance is heard again on p. 93, when "Sir John Coursey" laments the loss of "his brother-in-law, Sir Amorey."

"If my brother, Sir Amore were here, I could find in my heart to die with him. Alas! my dear brother; alas! that ever I knew him for *Sir Gawayn*² *was never to be compared above thee* in all thy doings."³ Alas! alas! This day had not gone thus if he had been here."

Sir Amore was, as we might expect, the 'very perfect knight.'

God and his enemies could report that amongst a thousand knights Sir Amory might be chosen for beauty, stout-stomached, and stalworthiness; for he was stout and sturdy to his peer, and humble and full of courtesy to his inferiors, and nothing would yield but in the way of gentleness (p. 94).

One cannot insist too strongly that history is absolutely silent as to Sir Amory's battles, while the awkward fact that he does not appear among the barons of Ulster, the followers of John de Courci, is not disposed of by the lame device of asserting that his son "relinquished to religious houses the conquests of his father in Ulster!"⁴

¹ Hereward is said by the *Gesta* to have called himself Harold, for disguise, when shipwrecked in Flanders. But this is hardly a parallel.

² The tales of Sir Tristram and Sir Gawayn had both been drawn into the Arthurian cycle.

³ Compare the allusion in the *Itinerarium* :—"Richard—to whom Roland himself cannot be compared—abode unconquerable and unwounded."

⁴ *Burke's Peerage*.

We will now pass from the glorification of Howth's petty lord to the tale of John de Courcy himself, his capture, imprisonment in the Tower, and release therefrom for the performance of his crowning deed.

The capture by treachery of John de Courcy at the instigation of his rival, Hugh de Lacy, is one of the two episodes for which we have the double "authority" of the 'Annals of Ireland' in the Laud MS. and of the 'Book of Howth.' These accounts deserve to be closely compared, because of the allegation by Mr. Gilbert, the editor of the former, that "English versions of several passages (in the Annals) identical with those in the 'Laud MS.' were, somewhat later, embodied in the Book of Howth."¹

The 'Laud MS.' is described by him as of the 15th century. Having passed, in the following century, into the hands of the Howards, it was lent by one of them to Camden, who printed these "Annals" in 1607. Thenceforth their contents became widely known.² On the other hand, the "Book of Howth," compiled in the 16th century, remained in MS. till our own time (1871), when it was printed in volume V of *The Carew Manuscripts*.

A comparison of the two versions brings out the fact that either the "Annals" omit, or the Book of Howth has added, some of the facts.

¹ *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey* (Rolls Series), II, cxvi.

² *Op. cit.* p. cxiv et seq.

ANNALS OF IRELAND

postmodum feria sexta et Parasceve cum fuit inermis Johannes antedictus et nudis pedibus et in lineis in peregrinatione visitando limina ecclesiarum, ut mos est, iret, capitur a suis proditiōse pro mercede data ac majori danda in futura et remunerandis, traditur Hugoni de Lacy.

BOOK OF HOWTH

Sir Hue de Lacy was commanded to do what he might to apprehend and take Sir John Coursy; and so devised and conferred with certain of Sir John's own men how this might be done; and they said it were not possible to take him, he being in his harness, unless it were a Good Friday, and told as his accustomed usage was, that day, he would wear no shield, harness, nor weapon, but would be in the church, kneeling at his prayers, in his live (line) clothes, after he had gone about the church five times barefooted. And so, as they devised, so came they at him upon the sudden, and he had no shift to make but with the cross pole, and defended him till it was broken, and slew 13 of them before he was taken; at which time two of his brother's sons were slain.

Now what are we to say to this story? With no wish to be dogmatic on the subject, I suggest that it is only a conventional episode of the herotale or romance. We are dealing, if my view is right, with one of the romances of the time, in

which it was fitting that the hero should only be captured by foul means and in spite of prodigious valour. Samson, delivered bound to the Philistines, only to slay them with the jawbone of an ass, seems to have been present, more or less, to the minds of these romancers. In 'Sir Bevis', his father 'Sir Guy' is treacherously assailed while hunting, but slays a hundred of his assailants before 'Sir Murdour' can assassinate him; and 'Sir Bevis' himself, when quite unarmed, is assailed by twelve armed foresters, slays nine with the truncheon of a spear, and walks off unhurt. In 'Guy of Warwick' the 'felon' duke of Pavia sends sixteen knights to lie in ambush and intercept the hero "upon a mulet ambling," and already wounded; but only one of the knights escapes with his life. Again suddenly attacked when dining at King Florentine's table, Guy escapes in safety, after killing fourteen of his assailants. In 'Sir Triamour' the wicked 'Sir Marrock,' with eighteen followers, intercepts Sir Roger, the old knight, when without his armour, but fourteen of his assailants fall beneath his sword before 'Sir Marrock' spears him from behind in a sudden onslaught.

This brings us to the death of Hereward—a very real man, who became a hero of romance,—as told by Geoffrey Gaimar. We have two conflicting versions of his end, the author of the *Gesta Herewardi* making him die in peace, while Geoffrey's tragic tale is that which Kingsley follows. It is thus paraphrased by Freeman.

He had to keep watch within and without his house, and to plant guards when he was at his meals. Once

his chaplain, Æthelward, on whom this duty fell, slumbered at his post. A band of Normans now attacked Hereward. He armed himself in haste; his spear was broken, his sword was broken; he was driven to use his shield as a weapon; fifteen Frenchmen lay dead by his single arm, when four of their party got behind him and smote him in the back....¹ Hereward, by a last effort, once more wielded his buckler with deadly effect, and the Englishman and the Breton fell dead together.²

In his appendix on 'The legend of Hereward' he guardedly wrote that

As to Hereward's death, there is nothing to make us choose between the story in the *Gesta* and the story in Gaimar, except that it is more likely that so elaborate a story as the latter should have been left out by one writer than that it should have been invented by the other.³

This is feeble criticism: Gaimar's story is not merely "left out" by the author of the *Gesta*; it is directly contradicted, we have seen, by the latter's version. That Gaimar's was "a tale worth the telling" was a point probably of more weight with a writer of Mr. Freeman's sympathies. Mr. Davis pronounces the mystery of Hereward's death "insoluble," and, in his Appendix on "The Hereward Legend," leaves the question open.

The great difficulty is that Gaimar gives an account of Hereward's end which is absolutely at variance with the *Gesta*... The natural course would be to prefer the story of Gaimar; but it is hard to suppose that a Croyland writer was mistaken about the death of a man who was buried in the church at Croyland.⁴

¹ "Qui l'ont féru par mi le cors,
Od iiij lances l'ont féru."

² *Norman Conquest* (1871), IV, 487.

³ *Ibid.* p. 809.

⁴ *England under the Normans and Angevins* (1904), p. 525.

I venture to suggest that when we apply the methods of the higher criticism to the tales of "one whose mythical fame," as Mr. Freeman expressed it, "outshines all the names of his generation," when we remember that "with no name has fiction been more busy,"¹ Gaimar's story falls into place as a familiar incident of romance.

That we are here dealing, not with history, but with mere romance is shown by the tale that John, when captured, was sent to prison. The whole of this business is entered, in the 'Annals of Ireland,' under 1204;² and I have elsewhere examined in great detail John's movements at the time.³ According to the "Annals of Loch Cé" there was a battle in 1204 between Hugh de Lacy and John de Courcy, in which the latter was taken prisoner, but released on taking the cross; and this statement, I have shown, is confirmed by the charter granting Ulster to Hugh, which tells us that Hugh "Johannem vicit et cepit in campo." According to "the Book of Howth" (after his capture, as above, by treachery)

And so he was sent to England, and was put in the Tower, to remain there in perpetual (*sic*), and there miserably was kept a long time without meat or apparel that any accompt could be made of (p. 111).⁴

It is certain, from what we know of his movements, that John was not sent a prisoner to England,

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 455.

² *Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin*, II, 308-9.

³ *The Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer* (1883), III, 305-310; IV, 177-181.

⁴ According to the "Annals of Ireland" (*ut supra*): "Johannes Courcy judicatur carceri perp. quia fuit ante rebellus", etc.

and it is also certain that he gave hostages—sons of his barons—who were so sent.

This brings us to the climax of the *Geste*, to which John's imprisonment is the prelude.

The most celebrated of John's achievements is his bloodless triumph for England and its King against the champion selected to do battle for France. Its widespread fame is due to the fact that, according to the peerage-books, to 'popular' writers, and to countless newspaper scribes, the right of all the Lords Kingsale to remain covered in the presence of the Sovereign was a privilege bestowed on their ancestor John, "Earl of Ulster," by King John for this great service.¹

I would make it clear at the outset that we have here two stories, of which one is quite distinct from the other and of much later origin. The first and older of the two is that of the single combat: the second and more recent is that of the grant to the victor, as the King's reward for his service, of the alleged privilege, for himself and his heirs, of remaining covered in the Sovereign's presence. The latter story is, in some versions, no mere complement, but an actual contradiction of the other, in which the reward given to John was the restoration of his Irish dominions.

Let us then deal first with the tale of the combat. The authorities for this are two: (1) The "Annals of Ireland" in the Laud MS.;² (2) The "Book of Howth." Here again we observe the grievous inaccuracy of Mr. Gilbert's statement that

¹ John was never Earl of Ulster, though so described in the Book of Howth and in the 'Annals of Ireland'.

² See p. 275 above.

English versions of several passages (in the Annals) identical with those in the "Laud MS." were, somewhat later, embodied in the "Book of Howth."¹

No one could compare the narrative in the "Annals," extending only to a page (pp. 309-310), with that in the "Book of Howth"—some two and a half pages, without observing that the latter contains much additional matter. And close examination reveals, further, that the two accounts differ vitally as to the cause of John's triumph. According to the "Annals" the French champion was so alarmed by what he heard that he would not put in an appearance:² in the quaint renderings by Philemon Holland and in Fuller's "Worthies" respectively, the story in the "Annals" runs:

HOLLAND

But when the champion of France heard of his exceeding great feeding and of his strength he refused the combat, and then was the said seignorie given unto the King of England.

FULLER

The Mounsieur hearing how much he had eat and drunk, and guessing his courage by his stomach, took him for a Cannibal, who would devour him at the last Course; and so declined the Combat.

In the "Book of Howth," on the contrary, the French champion is terrified, not by what he *heard*, but by what he *saw*.

The French King his champion came to the field, and did his duty of obeisance very reverent and courteous, and rested in the field half an hour.... As soon as the foreign champion saw him, his stomach could not abide

¹ *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, II, cxvi.

² "Sed quando gigas Francie *audivit* de nimia commestione et maxima fortitudine noluit pugnare, et tunc datum est dominium Regi Angliæ."

the sight of Sir John Coursy, and refused utterly to have to do with him.

The tale of the encounter was thus embellished in the pages of *Burke's Peerage* ("Kingsale") :—

After his lordship (*sic*) had been in confinement about a year, a dispute happening to arise between King John and Philip Augustus of France, concerning the Duchy of Normandie, the decision of which being referred to single combat, King John, more hasty than advised, appointed the day, against which the King of France provided his champion; but the King of England, less fortunate, could find none of his subjects willing to take up the gauntlet, until his captive in the Tower, the gallant earl of Ulster, was prevailed upon to accept the challenge. But, when everything was prepared for the contest, and the champions had entered the lists, in presence of the monarchs of England, France, and Spain (*sic*),¹ the opponent of the earl, seized with a sudden panic, put spurs to his horse and fled the arena (*sic*); whereupon the victory was judged, with acclamation, to the champion of England.²

Here again I confidently claim that the whole story is romance. On the one hand it is historically impossible; on the other, the single combat—especially with a giant—was dear to romancers' hearts.

¹ The King of Spain is an additional embellishment. There was not even such a person in existence at the time.

² In spite of my own repeated criticism and of that in the *Complete Peerage*, 'Burke' persisted, year after year, in repeating the De Courcy story and asserting that "Lord Kingsale enjoys the hereditary privilege (granted by King John to De Courcy, Earl of Ulster) of wearing his hat in the royal presence," although it latterly admitted that John de Courcy seems to have died childless. It is only this year (1909) that the story is at last abandoned, the reader being only told that these events are "stated" to have happened.

In times to come, perhaps, 'Burke' may bring itself to recognise that, as I have always insisted, Lord Kingsale's pedigree cannot be ascertained beyond Patrick de Courcy (*temp.* Henry III), whose parentage has not been determined.

The 'battle' is introduced in the two versions as follows:—

ANNALS

contentio facta est inter Johannem Regem Angliæ et Regem Franciæ propter dominium quoddam et quedam castella, lite pendente, Rex Franciæ obtulit gigantem seu pugilem ad pugnandum pro jure suo.

BOOK OF HOWTH

It fortunèd after this that variance and debate did grow between King John of England and the King of France for a certain fortress or castle which the King of France wan from King John. Being often required that to be restored, the King of France said it was his, and offered his title to be tried by the body of a champion, whereunto the King of England more hasty than advised did agree.

Apart from the fact that the two Kings would not in real life have so settled their differences,¹ we have to find an occasion upon which they both could, as alleged, have been present at such an encounter. John, we know, had left Normandy before the close of the year 1203, and no possible occasion can be found after that; certainly no occasion on which the King could have sent, as alleged, to the Tower for John de Courcy as his champion.

But when we turn from history to romance, we have at once the genesis of the tale. The fate

¹ Strangely enough, a similar story is told of Burton (Latimer), Northants, in the *Testa* (p. 25), where it is said to have been held "de dono domini Regis Henrici avi (sic) domini regis Ricardi, qui pugnavit contra pugilem Regis Francie inter Gysorz et Trie." The place indicated is, of course, the great elm between Gisors and Trie, where Henry II used to meet the French King.

even of kingdoms rests upon a champion's prowess. In what was probably a lost romance or Old English ballad the peaceful conference, in 1016, of Cnut and Edmund Ironside, on an island in the Severn, became "a single combat between the rival Kings" for the realm of England, and developed, in the words of Mr. Earle, into "one of the established sensation scenes of history." For, as Mr. Freeman showed in his Appendix on the subject,¹ such serious historians as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon and, later on, Roger of Wendover incorporated, with varying details, this single combat in their works. He did not, however, mention the interesting version recorded by Walter Map, who states that it was first intended to fight it out by champions,² or that of Geoffrey Gaimar.³

Again, in 'Fulk Fitz-Warine' the daughter of the Duke of Carthage offers to submit the issue between her and the King of Barbary to a single combat between knights, instead of the conflict of their hosts; in 'Sir Triamour,' Arradas, King of Aragon, seeks in vain for a champion worthy to be pitted against Marradas, the Emperor's giant, till he finds Sir Triamour just in time; and the same knight afterwards arrived just in time to fight, as the champion of Hungary, against the giant Bur-long. But "Guy of Warwick" is the great

¹ *Norman Conquest* (1870), II, 688-690.

² "fiatque pro bello duellum, et victor pugil domino suo regnum obtineat" *Distinc. V, cap. 4*. Walter was, of course, connected with that part of England.

³ According to Map the two Kings actually fought on an island, first on horseback and then on foot. But in Gaimar, as in the Courcy story, when all was ready for the fight, a conflict was averted.

exemplar. When Triamour (another of the name) has searched long and vainly for a champion to pit against the soudan's Amiraunt, the ferocious Ethiopian giant, Guy, disguised as a palmer, is found just in time. His memorable fight, however, with the Danish giant, Colbrond, presents the closest parallel to John de Courcy's triumph over the "gigas Franciæ," the champion of the French King.

Of that famous romance, "Guy of Warwick," Mr. Ward has observed in his *Catalogue of romances* that "the kernel of this romance was evidently the fight between the English and Danish champions" (I, 471). As he tersely describes it:—

Two northern kings, Anelaph and Gonelaph, now advance to Winchester, and summon King Athelstan to find any champion to oppose to their own, the giant Colbrand. Athelstan despairs of finding one: but an angel in a dream commands him to rise with the dawn, and to choose the first palmer who enters at the north gate. The palmer appears: he is poor and hungry, and worn with toil and trouble; but he is Guy, and he slays Colbrand with his own axe.

As is observed by Mr. Ward, "historically speaking, though the Danes sacked Winchester more than once, they did not approach it during the reign of Athelstan." He does not, however, insist as one could wish on the wholly fabulous character of the tale or on its conventional nature.

The story of this great fight with Colbrond, the Danish giant (*barbaricus gigans*), is told at length, from Girard of Cornwall's *Gwydo de Warwyck et uxor ejus Felicia*, in the Winchester *Liber de Hyda*,¹

¹ pp. 118-123.

a book of the Abbey which arose on the alleged scene of the combat. Girard is a writer who has not been traced, but whose veracious chronicle, we find, included Edward the Elder's foundation of Cambridge University,¹ while the Hyde Chronicle itself records Anlaf the Dane's visit, in the disguise of a harper, to Æthelstan's camp.² In this version Æthelstan and his nobles are reduced to despair at Winchester for lack of a champion to battle for the realm against Colbrond, champion of the Danes. For three whole days they pray and fast and weep. Then an angel reveals to Æthelstan that a poor pilgrim at the city gate is the champion they despair of finding. This is Guy, sent, we read, like David to Saul against Goliath. The King implores him to fight; he makes sundry excuses; but at last, moved by prayers and tears, consents. Guy in due course cuts off the giant's head as he stoops; and the axe with which he did the deed remained at Winchester, as 'Colbrond's axe,' in the writer's day, to prove the truth of the tale.³

Mr. Edwards, the editor of the *Liber de Hyda*, made in the Preface (p. XLIII) to this, an official publication, the almost incredibly foolish remark that the "incident" is one "the substantial verity of which has been so encumbered with ancillary and fabulous accretions that the over-wise—and the

¹ *Ibid.* p. III.

² *Ibid.* p. 123. The same tale is told of Alfred, who visits in disguise the Danish camp, and of Hereward, who, disguised as a potter, visits the Norman camp.

³ According to Trussell, it "was kept in the Cathedral vestry." Even so "the sword of Goliath the Philistine" was kept "behind the ephod" in the Tabernacle at Nob.

over-scornful—have come at length to treat it as fabulous altogether.” And in a footnote he spoke of the “wiser and more truly critical spirit” in which Mr. Milner, the (Roman Catholic) historian of Winchester, wrote of it that “To reject the *groundwork* of a history which is founded on so many ancient records and supported by immemorial tradition, as likewise by a great number of monuments still existing, or that existed until of late, savours of absolute scepticism.”¹

When we compare the two stories, we find the despair of Æthelstan reflected in that of John.

The King of England called his Council to understand where his champion might be found that would take upon him this honour and weighty enterprise. Many places they sought and enquired of, but none was found that was able to serve so weighty a turn as this was. The King being then in a great agony, doubted more the dishonour than the hindrance of the matter.²

The part played by the angel in the story of Guy of Warwick is assigned in that of John de Courcy to “one of the Privy Chamber,” who at length “came to the King and told him that there was one in the Tower that in all the earth was not his peer if he might be had.” The King repeatedly but vainly implored John to fight for him, insisting that “the realm of England did rest and depend upon his stalworth and knightly doings.”

¹ Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Winchester, tersely dismissed the “legend” in the words: “Here the impossible Guy of Warwick, that English David, slew Colbrand, champion of the Danes,” etc. (*Winchester*, p. 22). Compare, for Mr. Milner’s proofs, vol. I, p. 315.

² *Book of Howth*, p. 112. So when “there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath..... Saul and all Israel..... were dismayed and greatly afraid.”

Even so Æthelstan, on his knees, had entreated Guy to fight, when the hero pleaded his age and infirmities. The captive John "was in great misery; his hair overgrew his shoulders to the waist, full of vermin, without any apparel that any account were to make of." But having consented at last to fight, not for the King, but for the realm of England, he bathed and ate and drank till he had regained his strength.¹ Then, "after all things as he required granted and had, he willed that his sword to be sent for that was within the altar of Doune in Ireland, for he would fight with no weapon but with the same sword."²

With the issue of the meeting I have dealt above. Here I will merely add that the writer seems to have supposed it was somewhere near the Tower, though it was only in France that the two kings could have been present. And if it was in France, the two kings can on no occasion have been together long enough for all the negotiations described as precedent to John's actual appearance in the field.³

Nevertheless, it is not only in the peerage books or the newspaper press that the story has been told as true. In the late Duchess of Cleveland's *Battle Abbey Roll* (1889)—a work by no means without merit or claims to critical value—we read of the 'hat' privilege that "Lord Kingsale enjoys it in right of his descent from John de Courcy, Earl of

¹ "et tunc recreatus est in esculentis et poculentis et balneis, et accepit virtutem fortitudinis suæ" ("Annals of Ireland.")

² *Book of Howth*, p. 113.

³ Compare p. 290 above.

Ulster, to whom it was granted by King John." And then follows the whole story.¹

And so we come to the later addition to the story we have now disposed of. In that story John's reward for his great service to the English Crown was the restoration of his lordship of Ulster.

ANNALS OF IRELAND

Et Reges dederunt sibi
munera magna, sed et Rex
Anglie dedit sibi dominium
suum, scilicet Ultoniam.

BOOK OF HOWTH

The King of England did
grant unto...him forthwith
by his letters as much in
Ireland as he would ask or
did conquer himself; and
so gave him all his domi-
nions that before he had as
Earl of Ulster and Lord of
Connaught; and, licensed
him there to return, with
great gifts there beside.

But the 'peerage' story, as it used to be recorded in the veracious 'Burke,' ran as follows:—

The king... not only restored the earl to his estates and effects, but desired him to ask anything within his gift, and it should be granted. To which Ulster replied that having estates and titles enough, he desired that his successors might have the privilege (their first obeisance being paid) to remain covered in the presence of his Majesty, and all future Kings of England, which privilege was immediately conceded.

Neither in the "Book of Howth" version, nor in those of Elizabethan days derived from the "Annals of Ireland," is there any trace to be found of this later story. Indeed, it is not till the days

¹ *Op. cit.* III, 238, where it is even stated that "John's sword and armour are preserved in the Tower."

of William III that the pretended privilege is alleged to have been asserted. As, however, I am calling it in question, it is but fair to say that we find due mention of it some half a century earlier. In Fuller's "Worthies" the tale of the encounter follows the Elizabethan version, but Fuller adds :¹—

Hence it is that the lord Courcy, baron of Kingrone (*sic*), second baron in Ireland, claimed a privilege (whether by patent or prescription, charter or custom, I know not) after their first obeisance, to be covered in the King's presence, if process of time hath not antiquated the practice.

'Burke,' following Lodge, narrated the performance under William thus:—

This nobleman (Lord Kingsale), in observance of the ancient privilege of his house, appeared in the presence of King William covered, and explained to that monarch, when his Majesty expressed surprise at the circumstance, the reason thus:—"Sire, my name is Courcy; I am lord of Kingsale in your Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland; and the reason of my appearing covered in your Majesty's presence is to assert the ancient privilege of my family, granted to Sir John de Courcy, Earl of Ulster, and his heirs, by John King of England."

The Dutch monarch, doubtless, was as much "surprised" as the Hanoverian prince after him, when the official cockcrower gave his traditional performance.

It does not appear to have occurred to any one at that time to enquire if there was any evidence of such an hereditary grant, or whether John was Earl of Ulster, or whether the Lords Kingsale

¹ Probably about the year 1645.

could establish their descent from a man who died, as a fact, without issue. By 1762 the 'hat' was taken for granted; from Dublin George Montagu wrote to Horace Walpole that Lord 'Courcy' had taken his seat in the Irish House of Lords.

Our peers need not fear him assuming his privilege of being covered, for, till the King gives him a pension, he cannot buy the offensive hat. In short he was bred a carpenter at Jamaica, and is come over and proved his descent, and to learn a new trade, and make a bow.²

According to the scathing note in the *Complete Peerage* (IV, 396-7) on the subject, the 'privilege' was actually asserted in the presence of Queen Victoria so late as 1859. Happily, however, there now prevails a more scrutinising spirit; for, even as I write, one learns from the press that although his Majesty had graciously consented to use at a Levée a chair alleged to have been used by Henry VII, it was not the chair, when the time came, that was sat upon. It was its owner, Mr. Dudley Baxter, who received a letter³ informing him that "as the authenticity of the chair is disputed, and as his Majesty consented to sit in it mainly on the ground that it was used by Henry VII, which, apparently, is not the case," his Majesty was "unable to make use of it." Whereby Mr. Baxter learnt that—outside his Church—the authenticity of relics is considered to depend on evidence.

There can be little doubt that, as has been suggested, the idea of the alleged privilege is derived

¹ This was the old style of the peerage which is now "Kingsale."

² *8th Report Hist. MSS. App. II*, p. 115.

³ Printed in the newspapers of June 7, 1909.

from one of those personal licences to wear the 'bonet' which were more frequent in Tudor days than would be generally supposed. For it is shown by the Forester example that the grant of such *personal* licence could give rise to a persistent belief that it created an hereditary privilege.¹

These curious licences were not, so far as I can find, enrolled among the public records, and only those, consequently, are known of which the originals remain in private hands. I have here endeavoured to collect such as have come to light, although the list, probably, is not exhaustive. There may well have been many others, of which the memory is lost.

- (1) 24 Oct. 1512 (4 Hen. VIII). Walter Copinger, afterwards of Buxhall, Suffolk.²
- (2) 4 March 1515 (6 Henry VIII). Richard Wrottesley, Esquire, of Wrottesley, Staffs. (ancestor of the Lords Wrottesley).³
- (3) 6 July 1516 (8 Hen. VIII). Francis Browne, of Tolethorpe, Rutland (grandfather of Robert Browne, founder of the Independents).⁴
- (4) 15 Jan. 1517 (8 Hen. VIII). Richard Verney, Esquire, of Compton-Verney, War-

¹ Even since these words were written one reads in the 'Social and Personal' column of the *Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette* (4 August, 1909) that in the 16th century the Forester "family was of considerable importance, and Henry VIII attached a member of the house to his court, afterwards granting him the privilege of appearing covered in the royal presence. This quaint hereditary right remains to the Foresters to-day." In *Who's Who* it is similarly stated that "this family (*sic*) was granted..... the privilege of remaining covered in the royal presence."

² Hollingsworth's *History of Stowmarket* (1844), and Copinger's *History of the Copingers* (1884), p. 271, where the grant is printed and stated to be "still extant in the Glebehouse at Buxhall."

³ Wrottesley's *History of the family of Wrottesley* (p. 254) and facsimile.

⁴ See Fuller's *Worthies*, under Rutland, and account of the distinctive character of this grant below.

wickshire (ancestor of the Lords Willoughby de Broke). ¹

(5) 22 Nov. 1520 (12 Hen. VIII). John For(e)ster, Esquire, (ancestor of the Lords Forester). ²

(6) 7 February 1524 (15 Hen. VIII). Edward Montagu ("Mountegue"), "lernedman" (i. e. Serjeant at law), ancestor of the Dukes of Montagu. ³

(7) 12 June 1527 (19 Hen. VIII). Humphrey Lloyd. ⁴

(8) 26 July 1528 (20 Hen. VIII). "Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth, Esquyer," ancestor of the (Wentworth) Earls of Strafford. ⁵

(9) 18 July 1543 (35 Hen. VIII). Dr. Gwent, Chaplain, (who was Archdeacon of London, and Dean of the Arches). ⁶

With one exception, noted below, these licences are in English and in virtually uniform language. The grantee, "for certain diseases and infirmities which he hath in his hed," cannot conveniently "without his grete daunger bee discovered of the same," ⁷ and is consequently empowered "to use and were his bonet on his hed at all tymes and in all places, aswel in our presence as elleswhere at

¹ Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*, p. 435.

² Grant printed in *Genealogist* (N. S.) XVIII, 218, from original in possession of the family.

³ Grant printed in *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch*, I, 220, from the original in possession of the Duke, his descendant.

⁴ Grant printed in Leland's *Collectanea* II, 679.

⁵ Grant printed in *Strafford Letters and Despatches* (1739), II, 438.

⁶ Printed in Leland's *Collectanea* II, 678. See also *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, VII, 148.

⁷ Wrottesley, Montague: "without his grete daunger and jeobardie." So also Wentworth. Forester is licensed "for certain diseases and infirmities which he hath in his hed;" Verney, Lloyd, Gwent, for divers "infirmities which he hath in his hed." Copinger "is so diseased in his head that", etc.

his libertie.”¹ It will be observed that this permission is not confined to the royal presence: accordingly, “almaner our officers, justices and subgetts as well of spiritual preeminence and dignitie, as of temporall auctoritie” are commanded “to permitte and suffe (*sic*) hym so to do without any your lette chalenge or interuption to the contrary as ye tender our pleasure.”² The ‘bonet,’ of course, is that which we see in the portraits by Holbein.

These “lettres” were headed by the King’s sign manual and granted under the signet, which was represented, in the Wrottesley instance, by a wafer seal. There is, as I have said, one exception in the grant to Francis Browne, which describes itself as a Patent and is in Latin. After granting freedom from service on juries, as sheriff, as escheator, etc., it proceeds:—

Concessimus etiam... eidem Francisco quod ipse de cetero durante vita sua in præsentia nostra aut heredum nostrorum aut in præsentia alicujus sive aliquorum magnatum, etc.... quibuscunque temporibus futuris pileo sit co-opertus capite, et non exuat aut deponat pileum suum a capite suo occasione vel causa quacunque contra voluntatem aut placitum suum.

Turning now to another subject, the belief in the existence of a *chanson de geste* or lost ballad-cycle on Randolf, Earl of Chester, is based on the often quoted line in *Piers Plowman* (circ. 1377):—

¹ Montague. The wording is virtually exactly the same for Wrottesley, Copinger, Gwent, etc.

² Wrottesley, Montague, etc.

But I can rymes of Robyn hood and Randolf erle of Chestre.¹

As nothing of the kind, however, is known, Mr. Ward,² followed by Dr. Brandin,³ has drawn attention to the mention of Randolf, Earl of Chester, towards the end of the romance of Fulk Fitz-Warine. But this is comparatively slight.

In my opinion it is possible to identify a portion at least of the lost song of the great earl.⁴ It has been in print, indeed, for more than two centuries, although no one seems to have recognised its true character. Nearly a column of Dugdale's *Baronage* (1675)⁵ is occupied by a narrative, in italic type, introduced by these words:—

so did he approve himself a stout and faithful champion for Henry the Third, insomuch as the very preservation of that King, and raising him to his Father's throne, if we may give credit to an old Monk of Peterborough (Walter de Wittlessey, MS. penes Dec. et Cap. Petroburg.) may chiefly be attributed to him; whose relation touching the same, being not taken notice of by our ordinary Historians, I shall here insert.

The two features of this passage which lead me to deem it part of a romance, such as those we have discussed above, are: (1) that the earl is the central figure; (2) that the statements in the narrative are at direct variance with history. The subject of the narrative is the battle of Lincoln with what immediately preceded and followed it.

¹ See Hales, Percy Folio I, 258; Sweet, *Notes on Piers the Plowman*, pp. 136-7; Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, I, vii, xlvii.

² *Op. cit.* I, 517.

³ *Fulk Fitz-Warine* (*The King's Classics*), pp. xvii-i.

⁴ Assuming, as everyone does, that it was not his namesake under Stephen who was meant.

⁵ Vol. I, pp. 42-3.

We read that Louis "having landed himself in England..... advanced to Lincoln." Now Louis had landed in May 1216, and it was not till a year later that the battle of Lincoln was fought. But a far more important criticism is that Louis, whose presence at Lincoln is a feature of the narrative, is known to have remained in the south and not to have gone to Lincoln!¹ Nevertheless the narrative asserts that the earl

convened the rest of the Northerners; and being the chief and most potent of them, taking with him young Henry, son of King John, and right heir to the Crown, raised a puissant Army and marched towards Lincoln. To which place, at the end of four days after Louis got thither, expecting him, he came.

The earl is treated, here and throughout, as the only commander of the royal host, which is as contrary to fact as the statement that the young King was with him.

However, the romance proceeds thus with an episode absolutely impossible:—

To whom (*i.e.* the earl) the Earl of Perch, observing his stature to be small, said "Have we staid all this while for such a little man, such a dwarf!" To which disdainful expression he answered: "I vow to God, and Our Lady, whose church this is, that before to-morrow evening I will seem to thee to be stronger, and greater, and taller than that steeple." Thus parting with each other, he betook himself to the castle.

The Count of Perche did command the French troops on this occasion, but the interview alleged

¹ The late chroniclers, Walter of Hemingburgh and Trivet, imagined that he was present at the battle.

between him and the earl, the day before the battle, is, as I have said, impossible.

The narrative then proceeds to the battle on the following day.

And on the next morning the Earl of Perch, armed at all points except his head, having entered the cathedral with his forces, and left Louis there, challenged out our earl to battle; who no sooner heard thereof, but, causing the castle gates to be opened, he came out with his soldiers, and made so fierce a charge upon the adverse party that he slew the Earl of Perch and many of his followers.

Here we again have Louis represented as present and earl Randolf again treated as sole commander of the royal host. His actual part in the battle is a subject of some difficulty,¹ but there is no reason to suppose that it was he who slew the Count. The latter's death was caused by the point of a weapon penetrating his vizor, and it is assigned in the Marshal poem to Reinald Croc, though the Marshal himself seized his bridle, and was fiercely struck by the dying man upon his helm.

Le conte de Perche troverent
Asez près devant le mostier
Molt orguillos et molt très fier

.
Li Mar.....

.....tendi la main
E prist le conte par le frein
Del Perche, et si sembla raison
Por ço qu'il ert li plus hauz hom
Qui i fust devers les Franceis

.

¹ See Prof. Tout's valuable article on "The Fair of Lincoln" in *English Hist. Rev.* XVIII, 250, 258.

Et a pris l'espeé a deus mains
 E fiert le Mar. Willielme
 Treis cops près a près sor le helme :¹

The earl of Chester's next achievement, which follows the foregoing, is this :—

and immediately seising upon Louis in the church, caused him to swear upon the Gospel and Relicks of those saints then placed on the High Altar that he would never lay any claim to the Kingdom of England, but speedily hasten out of the realm with all his followers ; and that when he should be King of France, he would restore Normandy to the Crown of England.

That this is all absolute fiction I need not insist. The narrative then ends with the earl posing as King-maker.

Which being done, he sent for young Henry..... and, setting him upon the Altar (!), delivered him seisin of this Kingdom, as his inheritance, by a white wand, instead of a sceptre, doing his homage to him, as did all the rest of the nobility then present.

Young Henry had been crowned at Gloucester seven months before (28 Oct. 1216) and would then have received the homage of his followers ; nor was the earl of Chester ever in charge of him. The Marshal was *rector* (or *custos*) *regis et regni*, and the bishop, Peter des Roches, had personal charge of the lad. As the bishop, however, took an active part in 'The fair of Lincoln,' young Henry, probably, remained with Gualo the Legate ; for Roger of Wendover tells us that, after the battle, William the Earl Marshal² returned to the

¹ ll. 16,704-16,748.

² i. e. Marshal of England and Earl of Pembroke.

King and brought them the news of the great victory.¹ It was similarly before the Earl Marshal that Louis, the following September, took the oath of renunciation alleged by the romance to have been extorted from him by the earl of Chester in May. Here we have again an excellent illustration of the way in which historical facts were wrested and distorted by romancers, in sheer defiance of the truth, for the glorification of their heroes.

¹ "ad regem reversus, retulit coram legato omnia quæ acciderant" (II, 219).

HERALDRY AND THE GENT

*Heraldry in decay—Arms as assertion of descent—The new doctrine
The armigerous Gent—Nobility à prix fixe—No ‘privilege’ in
grant of arms—Origin of class distinction—Tenures of land—
What is a ‘gentleman’?—Origin of coat-armour—Alleged vanity
—Medieval evidence—‘Musty’ parchments—Royal badges—The
‘living’ heraldry—Heraldry as a study—A modern coat—‘The
complete guide’—Arms of Ferrers—Crowns of the Magi—Con-
fusion and contradiction—The white label—More confusion—
Inaccuracy—The white swan—The Seymour augmentation—Other
augmentations—Arms of St. Edmund—Arms of Edward the
Confessor—The royal arms—Their use by Mowbray and by Holand
—Use of royal crest—An imaginary grant—Lord Surrey’s offence
The Howard augmentation—The Pelham augmentation—The
rules of blazon—The Carlos coat—‘Debruised’ and ‘over all’—
Simplicity of early blazon—More ignorance—Arms of London—
Are they ‘recorded’?—A Scottish coat—Mayhew coat and
pedigree—A blacksmith’s arms—‘Armorial families’ exposed—A
‘Henry III’ coat—The voice of heraldry—The Evesham banners.*

There has raged for years past—for nearly fifteen years, I think,—a fierce, if intermittent strife on the subject of grants of arms. As is usually the case with institutions whose existence is artificially prolonged, the whole system of heraldry has become an anomalous survival. If the public cannot be induced to treat its existence seriously, its essential unreality and its “make-believe” are the cause. One has only to turn to such a modern work as the *Armorial Families* of Mr. Fox-Davies

to see the *novus homo*, the successful business man who has taken out a grant of arms, provided not only with the shield intended for his use at tournaments, but the closed helm that will mask his features when he sallies forth to war, and, perched above it, the crest that will proudly crown the whole.

It is with no desire to mock at this example of the "modern antique," this artificial survival from a glorious but dead past, that I dwell upon its incongruity. My object is to show that modern life has diverged more and more from the conditions in which heraldry had its rise and with which it was inseparably connected. The natural result followed. Filled no longer with the sap of life, heraldry withered and decayed; of heraldic art the decadence was rapid and eventually complete; heraldic practice became a tissue of irregularities and confusion. As a matter of fact, the period of decay may be said to have begun about the time when the Heralds' College assumed control according to Mr. Fox-Davies. He holds that "speaking broadly, regularised and *recorded* heraldic control as a matter of operative fact dates little if any further back than the end of the reign of Henry VIII".¹ Under that king the tournament, with which heraldry was so closely associated, finally died out. It had only been kept alive for some time with difficulty. Indeed the victory on Bosworth Field had rung the death-knell of true heraldry when it ended "the Wars of the Roses." The "new monarchy" of the Tudor line was

¹ *The Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 457.

essentially hostile to that feudal spirit with which the shield of arms had risen, and with which it waned and fell.¹

And then came "the deluge."

The old baronage was all but extinct; the new men of the Tudor age, enriched by trade or by abbey's spoil, were pressing and crowding to the front. Custom and tradition alike required that, when they had risen, they should have their ancestors and their arms; and there were those who provided them with both. The second half of the sixteenth century, and the first half of the seventeenth, were for genealogy and for heraldry a black period indeed. It was then that began the pernicious practice, which has proved so fruitful a cause of trouble, of new men striving to connect themselves with ancient houses bearing names more or less similar to their own. Heraldry themselves, unfortunately, were among the greatest sinners, from the 'Wriothesleys' and the 'Dethicks' of Tudor days to Bysshe, Garter King of Arms, in the time of the Commonwealth.

Nor was it only the *novus homo* who annexed the arms of another house; the ancient race of the Gerards of Bryn took, and still bear with full heraldic sanction, the arms of the great house of Fitz-Gerald, from which they tried to claim descent,—the undifferenced arms of the Duke of Leinster.

¹ This, I find, was also the view of the late Henry Bradshaw. "One of his theories, which he again and again reiterated, was that the science of armory died with the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses and the foundation of the College of Arms."—Letter from W. St. John Hope to G. W. Prothero in the latter's *Memoir of Henry Bradshaw* (1888), p. 371. Boutell admitted "the degenerate condition of Heraldry under the second Tudor Sovereign" (*Heraldry*, p. 242).

The Fitzherberts of Tissington, among the baronets, discarded similarly the ancient coat of their own parent stock, to assume, absolutely undifferenced, that of the senior line of the baronial house of Fitz-Herbert, with which they had no more connexion than I have.¹ Well may Mr. Oswald Barron say that "the ingenuities of the official guardians of heraldry have reduced the arms of our English families to a welter of contradictions and misapprehensions."² It is true that by "ingenuities" the writer may refer partly to those "armorial scandals," as he terms them, caused by granting, in accordance with "an evil tradition," not indeed the exact coat borne by another family, but "a colourable imitation" thereof,³ sufficiently near to suggest that kinship which in England it would once have denoted and in Scotland would still denote. But the great Blackstone, at least, did not mince his words and thus described the heralds' share in heraldry's decline and fall:—

The marshalling of coat-armour, which was formerly the pride and study of all the best families in the kingdom, is now greatly disregarded and has fallen into the hands of certain officers and attendants upon this court called heralds, who consider it only as a matter of lucre, and not of justice, whereby such falsity and confusion

¹ Both the coats thus assumed are recognised, it will be found, as officially valid in the *Armorial Families* of Mr. Fox-Davies. It is amusing to read, in the introduction to that work, of such assumption by one family of the arms of another family of the name, that: "At the present time, at the close of the 19th century, this same abuse runs riot, and now, as then, it is in the forefront, and the most prominent of heraldic follies..... beside this particular illegality all others seem but as mere peccadilloes" (p. vi). The writer, one must suppose, did not know enough of heraldry to perceive that "this particular illegality" is well illustrated by these two 'legal' coats.

² *The Ancestor*, VI, 174.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170. The heralds will hardly thank Mr. Fox-Davies for his revelations on the subject (*Complete Guide*, pp. 116, 206, 516).

have crept into their records (which ought to be the standing evidence of families, descents, and coat-armour) that, though formerly some credit has been paid to their testimony, now even their common seal will not be received as evidence in any court of justice in the kingdom.

Heraldry having been reduced to this parlous state, what was the worth of a coat of arms? What meaning was left to it? Well, it represented an assertion that one belonged to a certain family: it was understood to denote that, and nothing more than that. If you could prove your descent from that family, you were merely asserting the truth. If, on the other hand, you could not do so, you were guilty, to that extent, of more or less conscious deception.

Mr. Fox-Davies puts the case thus in his *Complete Guide to Heraldry* (1909):—

*By the use of a certain coat of arms, you assert your descent from the person to whom those arms were granted, confirmed, or allowed.*¹ That is the beginning and end of armory. Why seek to make it mean more (p. 24).

Why indeed? But that, we shall see, is precisely what the writer has striven to do. If my readers will bear in mind this point of *assertion of descent*, they will grasp the real issue; they will find it the touchstone by which to determine whether arms are borne with intention to create a false impression or not.

Whether the arms had in the first instance been formally “granted, confirmed, or allowed” was not considered a point of any importance. In the

¹ The italics are his own.

first place it did not affect the *assertion of descent* at all; in the second, it was common knowledge that a grant of arms could be obtained on payment of the usual fees by anyone of decent position who cared to do so. That a man's social position was determined or even affected by the question whether he had paid these fees was a doctrine that had not entered the minds of men. As for the view that this money payment constituted the dividing line between the "plebeian" and the "noble," such a conception would have aroused ridicule; ridicule alone could have saved it from being denounced as vulgar.

It is asserted, indeed, by Mr. Fox-Davies that the discontinuance, in the last century, of the custom of painting upon carriages large coats of arms is due to "the modern craze for ostentatious non-ostentation (the result, there can be little doubt, in this respect of the wholesale appropriation of arms by those without a right to bear these ornaments.)"¹ This only illustrates his inability to understand the feelings of a man of good family. There are peers, baronets, and county families to whom he would deny the "right to bear these ornaments," while he would proclaim the "right" of the newest of new men,—even of a music-hall proprietor whose coat proclaims his calling. It is the use of arms, according to him, by the former, not by the latter class which has made them unfashionable. This is a view which would appeal only to men who wear what he rashly describes as "the ordinary elastic-side boots of everyday life."

¹ *Complete Guide*, p. 399.

Such, I repeat, was the state of things. So far as anyone troubled his head about heraldry at all, the only point that could be said to matter was the wrongful assumption of the arms of one family by the members of another. And even this was probably deemed, by most persons, a venial offence. Those of us, however, who cared for genealogical truth would gladly have seen this abuse denounced and checked.

But it was not for this that was unfurled the banner of the new crusade. Bursting, as it were, arm-in-arm, upon the gaze of a puzzled public, half-astonished, half-amused, Mr. Fox-Davies and the loud-mouthed 'X' preached and shrieked the new gospel, proclaimed the glory of the armigerous Gent. An abler pen than mine has dealt with that new gospel and has made its tenets the theme of delicate, but deadly satire.¹ Broadly speaking, these twin prophets—of whom many have seen in one but the astral body of the other—set themselves to promulgate the doctrine that society was cleft by a line of which no one hitherto had dreamed. On the one side of it were the wretched "plebeians": on the other were the "gentlemen of coat armour." Whether you were among the sheep or the goats, whether you stood within or hopelessly without the pale, depended simply and solely on whether you possessed a coat of arms registered (or recorded) at the Heralds' College.

To do Mr. Fox-Davies justice, he had the

¹ "The genuinely armigerous person." By Oswald Barron (*Ancestor*, VI, 155 *et seq.*) See also, upon this subject, "Arms and the Gentleman," in *Cont. Review* (1899) LXXVI, 249 *et seq.* and "Order Arms" in the *World of* 16 August 1899; also *Monthly Review*, No. 9, pp. 110-111.

courage of his opinions. He was careful to explain that even a peer who failed to pass this new test was, however ancient his house, not a gentleman. Among "plebeians" he boldly classed even "prominent people whose social position is undoubted;" he denounced them as "bogus pretenders," and, regardless of legal consequences, proclaimed, in his wild excitement, that these persons "openly break every law in existence." On the other hand he clasped, as it were, the Armigerous Gent to his bosom. The man who had taken out a grant of arms, whatever his birth, breeding, or ancestry, was hailed as the only true "gentleman," was hall-marked and stamped as such in a work produced for the purpose. Nay, it was even explained to this fortunate person, to his joy, that he was "the first holder of the lesser nobility of that creation in precisely the same manner as the first Peer is a Peer by patent."

It should have, for this excited writer, the effect of a cold douche when, in his *England and the English* (1909), Mr. Price Collier writes:—

Practically the only people either in England or America whom one hears talking much of what it is, or what it is not, to be a gentleman, are they who secretly suspect their own claims to the title. The very first requisite of a gentleman is that he should have forgotten at least an hundred years ago that he is one (p. 207).

It is wittily and truly put. But the requisite is one which cannot be fulfilled by many "gentlemen of coat armour;" and it has the supreme advantage that no fees can buy it.

We can further appreciate the boldness of this

novel doctrine when we remember that the only style coveted by men was that of Esquire, and that the humbler style of "gent." lower not only in the social, but in the formal scale of precedence, was one that they were eager to escape. Mr. Fox-Davies has set himself to alter all that: an 'Esquire' to him is but of small account; he has made himself the Apostle of the Gent.

It is needless to recapitulate the grotesque consequences of the doctrine preached by Mr. Fox-Davies or to dwell on its inherent absurdity. It would erect, as the *World* expressed it, "a standard of social and personal measurement which makes plebeians of men of county family and established position, and gentlemen of all the 'bounders' in the kingdom who have a few pounds to spare to the accommodating fossils of Queen Victoria Street."¹ I have dealt in another place with 'X' and Mr. Fox-Davies² and will only add here that their ludicrous doctrine as to "gentleman" is rejected by the very authorities whose voice, in these matters, they have loudly proclaimed to be law. The Crown assigns the style of "gentleman" to all those to whom it grants commissions, totally regardless of whether they possess coats-of-arms, legal or other;³ and the heralds, on whose "sole authority" these writers insist, formally accord the style "gentleman" to persons expressly recognised

¹ *World*, 16 August, 1899. I disclaim all responsibility for this description of the heralds, which I should not dream of applying to them, and for which they have to thank the absurd doctrine of Mr. Fox-Davies and his school.

² *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. xv, xix-xxix.

³ "Gentility is merely hereditary rank, emanating, with all other rank, from the Crown, the sole fountain of honour." *The Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 23.

to be not entitled to arms, as is shown by a document printed by 'X' himself!

The point which I now wish to make is that, in his latest work, Mr. Fox-Davies, we shall find, has been driven at last from his position: he is practically in full flight; he is fairly beaten from the field.

For what is the answer to all his endeavours to exalt the effect of a grant of arms by representing it as a high privilege, a concession by the sovereign, an act of Grace? It is that the matter does not come before the sovereign at all, but is simply a matter of paying certain fixed fees. There was never any attempt to surround the matter with mystery till 'X' and Mr. Fox-Davies set themselves to exalt the privileged position of the Armigerous Gent, the former even audaciously asserting that "the cases of a Patent of Arms and a Patent of Peerage are identically the same," and that "if a coat of arms granted by Patent is to be stigmatised as bought from the Crown, then of a surety every Peerage granted by Patent is equally 'bought.'"¹ I term this statement audacious because the writer must have known perfectly well that the man who can obtain a grant of arms by paying certain fees would vainly endeavour to obtain a Peerage by paying the fees for its Patent.

The matter, as I have said, has never been a mystery: it is at most a *secret de Polichinelle*. So far back as the days of Elizabeth, Harrison described how a man "shall for money have a coat and

¹ *The Right to bear Arms*, p. 167.

arms bestowed on him by Herald.

”¹ In the next century the quaint Fuller tells the story of “an ancient esquire’s” retort to one who taxed him with his plain coat of arms: “I must be fain to wear the coat which my great great grandfather left me; but had I had the happiness to have bought one, as you did, it should have been ‘guarded’ after the newest fashion.”² So also in the next century, 1724, a writer who exalted the heralds and their College, and claimed that “Heraldry is observed with greater strictness and niceness here than in any country where I have been abroad,” ended his account of the College with the perfectly frank statement that —

Such as have a mind to purchase a Coat of Arms at the Herald’s Office may see the method of it in Dr. Chamberlain’s *State of England*.³

Passing to our own time we find Mr. Hutton writing with equal frankness:—

It is a matter of common knowledge that payment of the fees claimed will always secure a grant, apart from the rule, now somewhat meaningless, that grants are not made to retail shopkeepers.⁴

But such frankness would be obviously fatal to the doctrine of ‘X’ and Mr. Fox-Davies. It would take, in homely language, “the gilt off the gingerbread.” The Armigerous Gent who is taught to believe that the Crown has selected him for an honour “in precisely the same manner as the letters patent creating a peerage constitute a

¹ *A description of England*.

² *Worthies of England* (1840) I, 65-6.

³ *A journey through England*, I, 238.

⁴ *A reformed College of Arms in Cont. Rev.* (July 1900), p. 98.

patent of what we in England commonly and colloquially call nobility,"¹ and that he is "the first holder of the lesser nobility of creation in precisely the same manner as the first Peer is a Peer by Patent," would surely be aghast if he were frankly told that "plebeians" on whom he looks with scorn could enjoy the same honour by merely paying the fees, and that the Crown, in their case as in his, would have no more to do with the selection than "the man in the moon."

As Mr. Oswald Barron has said in reply to Mr. Phillimore, who claims that grants of arms "create *nobiles minores*," and who speaks of the Sovereign granting "titles, honours, and arms,"

Let Mr. Phillimore choose his candidate for, leaving peerages alone, the modest honours of a knighthood, or of the fifth class of the Victorian Order. Let us on our side choose a candidate for the honour of a grant of arms, and let the relative success of our candidates demonstrate the vital difference between a grant of arms and those honours which are in the sovereign's gift, whose distribution is within the sovereign's knowledge. The difference lies in the fact that the one is obtainable on a money payment by a suitable candidate whilst the other is not.²

Let there be no misunderstanding as to the point at issue. There is no "sneer" at the payment of fees to heralds for a grant of arms. To grant arms is part of their functions, and, if a man cares to take out a grant, it is perfectly fitting and proper that they should receive their fees. 'Largesse,' indeed, is a great tradition; it is, beyond dispute, a

¹ *The right to bear Arms.*

² *The Ancestor*, VI, 158.

golden link which unites the heralds of to-day to those of the Middle Ages. There is no 'sneer' at grants of arms; what we ridicule is the attempt to confuse them with the grant of titles, the absurd endeavour to exalt the Armigerous Gent as a "Noble." To quote from a previous work:—

"What I am exposing is not the practice of granting arms, but the effort to persuade the public that the grant is a special privilege, when it is notoriously obtained by the mere payment of cash."¹

And now let us see Mr. Fox-Davies, in his *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, driven to admit the fact.

ARMORIAL FAMILIES

I would remind those with the sneer ready to their lips that Arms are a mere matter of payment of fees, that it is not so A grant of Arms, which is a concession of grace by the Sovereign, is a Patent of Gentility from the Crown, from which is all honour.

One often hears the remark, 'Oh, but anybody can have a coat of arms by paying for it.' A more mistaken idea could not exist, etc.

THE COMPLETE GUIDE

So long as the possession of arms is a matter of privilege, even though *this privilege is no greater than is consequent upon*² *payment of certain fees* to the Crown and to its officers, for so long will that privilege possess a certain prestige and value though this may not be very great. (p. 23).

Providing a person is palpably (*sic*) living in that style and condition of life in which the use of arms is usual, subject always to the

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. xxix.

² The italics are mine.

Earl Marshal's pleasure and discretion, a Grant of Arms can ordinarily be obtained upon payment of the usual fees (p. 589).

It is true that the *Complete Guide* harps upon the word "privilege": we read that "The possession of arms is a privilege the Crown is willing should be obtained upon certain terms by any who care to possess it, who live according to the style and custom which is usual amongst gentle people"... "Arms have never possessed any greater value than attaches to a matter of privilege" (p. 23). But this is a sheer contradiction in terms, though it is charitable to presume that the writer is not conscious of the fact. That which can practically be obtained "by any who care to possess it" cannot be described as a "privilege."

"Providing a person is palpably" attired in evening dress, "subject always to the" Manager's "pleasure and discretion",¹ admission to the stalls of a London theatre "can ordinarily be obtained upon payment of the usual" price; but it would not occur to one to look upon such admission as a "privilege," a privilege possessing "a certain prestige and value." Nor has anyone produced a work on *Stall-going families* in which Roman type shall be rigidly restricted to those who have secured admission to that portion of the house.

Probably there never was a time when any real privilege, any little social distinction, was the subject of more struggle and intrigue, or was, if

¹ In a well-known case admission was refused to a leading critic.

gained, more jealously prized than it is to-day. Why then is there not a rush to enter *à prix fixe* the ranks of the "lesser nobility," of the noble "caste"? Why has a man to be goaded and lashed in order to compel him to do so? Why is it necessary for Mr. Fox-Davies "to insult him publicly in black and white" (the expression is his own) before he will take any steps? The answer of course is obvious enough; it is that a grant of arms is *not*, as alleged, a "privilege." As I observed in my previous work:—

This is the essence of the case. A peerage is the object of ambition because few can obtain it; a grant of arms is of no account because nobody values what "anyone" can obtain. And no amount of rhodomontade can alter or obscure the fact.¹

By "anyone" I mean, of course, the class of man whom Mr. Fox-Davies sets himself to "insult publicly" as a "plebeian," and whose application for a grant of arms—involving his change from a goat to a sheep, in that writer's "armorial" flock—would, so far from meeting with objections, be actually welcomed by a herald.

The *Complete Guide* appears to show that its author is changing his position, that he is at last being forced to recognise what is obvious to everyone else, namely that the grant of a coat of arms is not, as he affirmed, the origin and cause, but the consequence of "gentility." In other words, a grant of arms is made *because* a family is "living in that style and condition in which the use of arms is usual" "according to the

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. xxvii.

style and custom which is usual amongst gentle people: " ¹ it does not change their social position or raise a man to the rank of a "gentleman" (whatever that may be) in spite of all the editions of *Armorial Families* that have ever issued from the press.

Therefore by the use of arms (asserting no false descent) a man merely affirms that he enjoys a certain social position, by no means high; and if he does actually enjoy it, and could have arms for the asking, he is affirming nothing that is not true. But one is not surprised that Mr. Fox-Davies, in his effort to prove the contrary, has landed himself in such confusion that he actually contradicts himself, on different pages of *The Complete Guide*, as to the social position conferred by a coat of arms. We are first told that a coat has a meaning in the eyes of society, and then that it is now of no account.

the display of a particular coat of arms has been the method, which society has countenanced, of advertising to the world that one is of the upper class or a descendant of some ancestor who performed some glorious deed to which the arms have reference (p. 22).

In England few indeed care or question whether this person or that person has even a coat of arms; and in the decision of Society upon a given question as to whether this person or the other has "married beneath himself," the judgment results solely from the circle in which the wife and her people move (p. 618).

It is greatly to be feared, from his own standpoint, that the second of these views is sound.

¹ See p. 320 above.

Let us, however, hear him further on the subject he has made his own, the subject to which, as is well-known, he has long devoted his attention. The title of the second chapter of his book is "The status and the meaning of a coat of arms in Great Britain." It includes, as we might expect, his views on the origin and the true meaning of the word 'gentleman,' a matter on which one has long looked for entertainment from his pen.

We read at the outset that—

It is necessary to go back to the Norman Conquest and the broad dividing lines of social life in order to obtain a correct knowledge. The Saxons had no armory, though they had a very perfect civilisation. This civilisation William the Conqueror upset, introducing in its place the system of feudal tenure with which he had been familiar on the Continent.

Wondering how a "perfect civilisation" could be "upset" by a mere change in the principle of land-tenure, we hasten on in search of "a correct knowledge." On the "feudal system", apparently, the author is quite at home. "Liability of (*sic*) military service," we learn, "according to the land they held," was the real test which marked off, by a sharp line of cleavage, the "gentle" from the "simple," the upper from the lower class.

Every man who held land under these conditions—and *it was impossible to hold land without them*¹—was of the upper class.... apart, and absolutely separate from the remainder of the population, who were at one time actually serfs, and for long enough afterwards, of no higher social position than they had enjoyed in their

¹ The italics are mine.

period of servitude. This wide distinction between the upper and the lower classes, which existed from one end of Europe to the other, was the very root and foundation of armory. It cannot be too greatly insisted upon (p. 19).

What "cannot be too greatly insisted upon" is that Mr. Fox-Davies does not understand his subject. Tenure by military service is, as it happens, a matter on which my own authority is so far recognised that the views I have put forward are now accepted by historians.¹ But this was only one of the tenures by which land could be held. Mr. Fox-Davies, "barrister-at-law," has evidently never even heard of tenure by serjeanty, tenure in socage, tenure in frank-almoyn. The statement that "it was impossible to hold land" otherwise than by military service does but prove the writer's ignorance: the assertion that those who did not so hold were all of servile status is merely grotesque.

Let us take a concrete instance that will drive the point home. A great and ancient county family, still lords of their *stammbaus*, the Okeovers of Okeover, had for their ancestor, in the days of Stephen, a certain Ralf Fitz Orm. Seated in Staffordshire on the Derbyshire border, he held estates at Okeover, Ilam, and Stretton, under the Abbot of Burton, Mayfield under the Prior of Tutsbury, and Callow under Ferrers, Earl of Derby. But, writes General Wrottesley, in his history of the house, the family "had carefully shielded themselves from any tenure which savoured of knight's service and the feudal burdens which were incident

¹ See my papers on "The introduction of knight-service into England," in *English Historical Review* and *Feudal England*, and compare *History of English Law* (1895), I, 238.

to it.”¹ According therefore to Mr. Fox-Davies, Ralf was of servile status, a member of “the lower class.” Need I add that this conclusion reduces his argument *ad absurdum*? Ralf, as a matter of fact, married “the sister of Walter de Montgomery, one of the knightly tenants of the Earls of Ferrars,” and “obtained with her the valuable manor of Snelston in Derbyshire.”²

But the author, confident as ever, has in store for us a greater surprise. He explains to us the true origin of that tiresome word “gentleman,” the “preposterous prostitution” of which again moves him to wrath. One remembers the distressing experience of ‘X’ “in a public-house,” which led him to denounce the application of that term—

in an idiotic manner to anyone whose education, profession, or perhaps whose income raises him above the lower level of ordinary trade or menial service, or even to a man of polite and refined manners and ideas.

This last application of the term would indeed be “idiotic” to ‘X’!

To continue:—

Such an idea is absolutely wrong. I have myself heard and seen a drunken chimney sweep come to blows in a public-house on being informed he was not a gentleman.³

‘X,’ one fears, was mixing in rather low company!

Let us turn to the latest revelation, to the discovery of Mr. Fox-Davies (p. 20):—

¹ *The Okeovers of Okeover*, p. 9. Compare my observations on these non-military tenures in “The Burton Abbey Surveys,” (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* XX, 275 *et seq.*)

² General Wrottesley *ut supra*.

³ *The right to bear arms.* By ‘X’.

The word gentle is derived from the Latin word *gens* (*gentilis*), meaning a man (*sic*), because those were *men* who were not serfs. Serfs and slaves were nothing accounted of there were but the two classes in existence, of which the upper class were those who held the land, who had military obligations, and who were noble, or in other words gentle.

It is, one would imagine, needless to inform an educated man that *gens* does *not* mean "a man," that it means a clan or family, and that Horace means by "sine gente" one who is (as we should say) "of no family." But then our eyes rest upon the cover of Mr. Fox-Davies' volume, gorgeous with a coat of arms, and we remember 'X' 's vigorous protest against the "idiotic" association of the word 'gentleman' with education; for, as he proceeds to remind us, "nothing a man can do or say can make him a gentleman without formal letters patent of gentility—in other words, without a grant of arms," etc. etc.

Again we return to our teacher. Having shewn us the two classes and explained how they were severed, he advances to his next discovery, the reason why the use of "arms" was co-extensive with the upper class. I will not inflict upon my readers the sentences which, to me at least, are faintly reminiscent (if it is not irreverent to say so) of Mrs. Eddy's prose masterpieces, in which this view is enunciated. The gist is this:—

All who held land were gentlemen; because they held land they had to lead their servants and followers into battle, and they themselves were personally responsible for the appearance of so many followers when the King summoned them to war. Now we have seen in the

previous chapter that arms became necessary to the leader that his followers might distinguish him in battle. Consequently, all who held land having, because of that land, to be responsible for followers in battle, found it necessary to use arms (p. 20).

In fairness to the writer it is necessary to quote as much as this in order to show what his view is and how he explains the association of the upper class with the use of arms. That his definition of the upper class is hopelessly wrong and mistaken was conclusively shewn above. We have now to consider his explanation of the use, by that class, of arms.

If he had any real knowledge at all of the subject on which he here comes forward to enlighten others, and on which he speaks with such extreme confidence, Mr. Fox-Davies would have seen the absurdity of his own doctrine. For what is the essence of his case? It is that those who held land by military service were obliged to use arms in order that they might be distinguished by their "followers" in battle. For the limited class of the 'barons' or tenants *in capite* this argument might be sound. But what of the great body of those who held by military service, the knights and gentry who, in battle, had no 'followers' to lead? Our would-be teacher is, evidently, wholly unfamiliar with those "military obligations" of which he writes with such fluent confidence. The service due from a knight's fee was, of course, well defined. The military tenant held, in the legal phraseology of the time, by the service of two knights, by the service of one

knight, by the service of half a knight, as the case might be. The "followers" for whose service the knight was responsible in battle exist only in historical romance or the wild imagination of Mr. Fox-Davies.

Nor do his difficulties end here. Long before the time when, according to him, the use of the closed helmet made the adoption of arms necessary for recognition in battle, men were already holding land by the service of a third, a fourth, or a fifth part of a knight in war. Nay, on the fief of Alvred de Lincoln, several holders owed only the service of the eighth of a knight, one the service of a twelfth, and one the service of no more than the twenty-fourth part!¹ The single knight went forth to war, not to lead, but to be led. And if there was no necessity, in his case, to be recognised by supposed "followers," still less could the fraction of a knight lead "followers" into action. So, here again, the writer's doctrine comes tumbling to the ground.

He might have found it wiser to adhere to the view set forth in an earlier chapter, that the use of armorial bearings on a shield had its real origin in vanity.² Wrestling with the difficulty of constructing a sentence, he asserts that

dislike it as we may, vanity now and vanity in olden days was (*sic*) a great lever in the determination of human actions.

In the very next sentence we are hurried to a fresh discovery:—

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 216. These returns of tenants by knight service were made in 1166.

² pp. 16-17. ('The origin of Armory').

A noticeable result of civilisation is the effort to suppress any sign of natural emotion.

One had imagined that the Latin races possessed a civilisation older than our own, and that suppression of their natural emotions was hardly their characteristic. One had also supposed that the Red Indian excelled in a stoical demeanour. But we are now ceasing to be surprised.

This wonderful paragraph is brought to a close thus:—

We have then this underlying principle of vanity with its concomitant result of personal decoration and adornment. We have the relics of savagery which caused a man to be nicknamed from some animal. The conjunction of the two produces the effort to apply the opportunity for decoration and the vanity of the animal nickname to each other.

The last of these sentences fairly makes the brain reel. The writer, surely, in a memorable phrase, is a prey to “the exuberance of his own verbosity.” If his meaning is that “the animal nickname” was the *motif* in the shield’s armorial decoration, one can only say that a lion, the animal usually depicted, was not a recognised nickname. The house of cards has collapsed again.

It was said, whether fairly or not, of the late Professor Freeman, that the reason why he so disliked the phrase ‘Modern History’ was because it denoted that portion of history with which he was not familiar. It might, conversely, be said, with truth, of Mr. Fox-Davies, that the reason why he sneers at those “who look upon Arms as indissolubly associated with parchments and writings

already musty with age,"¹ and is so enthusiastic an admirer of that "actual living reality," the Heraldry of to-day, is that, to put it gently, he is not "at home" in those Middle Ages in which Heraldry had its heyday.

We have seen something of this already : we see it further when he explains that 'Clarenceux' is said to come from Clare—

the castle at that place being the principal residence of the ancient Earls of Hereford (*sic*), who were, from thence (*sic*), though very improperly, called Earls of Clare.²

For with Clare the earls of Hereford had no more to do than I have. When we come to deal with other matters we shall see Mr. Fox-Davies sadly troubled by those parchments "musty with age," to which real students of heraldry attach such absurd importance.

We find him, indeed, glibly writing :—

Research and investigation constantly goes (*sic*) on, and every day adds to our knowledge.

And his readers are given a glimpse of such research when he lightly tells them that

There is, however, among the Protections in the Tower of London one etc. etc.

It does, certainly, add to our knowledge to learn from our *Complete Guide* that such things are kept in the Tower. We have an unfailing test of a writer's pretensions to knowledge when we find him believing that the public records are kept in

¹ *The Complete Guide*, p. x.

² *The Complete Guide*, p. 32.

the Tower of London. His acquaintance with these "musty" parchments is obviously second-hand.

We have further proof that this is so in a passage under the head of 'Badges':—

There is a note in Harl. MS. 304, folio 12, which, if it be strictly accurate, is of some importance. It is to the effect that the "feather silver with the pen gold is the King's, the ostrich feather pen and all silver is the Prince's (*i. e.* the Prince of Wales), and the ostrich feather gold, the pen ermine is the Duke of Lancaster's." That statement evidently relates to a time when the three were in existence contemporaneously, *i. e.* before the accession of Henry IV (p. 466).

Mr. Fox-Davies then proceeds to explain that, in order to satisfy the conditions, "we must go back to before 1360," though he admits that the use of the famous ostrich feather by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, is strange. That use, the reader should observe, is a discovery of his own.

Now in this case, as it happens, greater care in mere copying from printed books would have saved him from thus exposing his own ignorance. Planché, to whom we owe the extract, gave a fourth badge:—"the ostrich feather silver, the pen gobonne is the Duke of Somerset's."¹ Boutell duly reproduced all *four* badges;² but Woodward, quoting the same passage, gives only the first three:³ Mr. Fox-Davies must have "filled his can" from Dr. Woodward's cistern, and has been duly trapped. Had he only remembered Boutell's

¹ *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 1851 and 1873.

² *Manual of Heraldry* (1863), p. 382.

³ *Heraldry*, p. 593.

work, of which he issued a 'revised' edition, he would have found that there was no 'Duke of Somerset' to bear this badge, till 1443.¹ And had he deigned to consult the "musty" MS. itself, he would have learnt, not only that "The Ostrige fether sylver & pen gobone is the Duke of Somerset's," but that in this list are 28 badges, which comprise that of Henry VII! And these bring us to the next point.

Mr. Fox-Davies is good enough to explain to us the 'sun-burst' badge, which is more, it seems, than Woodward could do.

Henry VII is best known by his two badges of the crowned portcullis and the 'sun-burst'. . . . Save a very tentative remark hazarded by Woodward, no explanation has as yet been suggested for the sun-burst. My own strong conviction, based on the fact that this particular badge was principally used by Henry VII, who was always known as Henry of Windsor, is that it is nothing more than an attempt to pictorially represent the name 'Windsor' by depicting 'winds' of 'or' (pp. 468-9).

In spite of the "strong conviction" of this lord of the split infinitive, the objections to his view, both of them fatal, are (I) that the sun-burst was *not* a badge of Henry VII; (II) that he was *not* known as Henry of Windsor.² The sun-burst was a badge of Edward III, and of Richard 'of Bordeaux,' his successor.

When, therefore, the author tells us that "research and investigation constantly goes on,"

¹ It duly appears on the garter-plate of John (Beaufort), Duke of Somerset, in the frontispiece to Planché's book (see also *Complete Guide*, p. 466).

² Henry the *Sixth* might be so styled from his birthplace, as were his son, Edward 'of Westminster,' his father, Henry 'of Monmouth,' and his grandfather, Henry 'of Bolingbroke.'

we are tempted to exclaim : " They *do(es)* indeed ! "

Of his own standpoint indeed he makes no secret : his opening words proclaim it.

Too frequently it is the custom to regard the study of the science of Armory as that of a subject which has passed beyond the limits of practical politics.¹

" Why politics ? " the reader may ask. I do not profess to explain the meaning which is here attached to the word. However, we soon come to the point :—

Heraldry and Armory are an actual living reality.²

So is the Tower of London. So also, I believe, is the headsman, who still has there his habitation. But the Tower has long ceased to be a palace, a fortress of importance, or a state prison, although we still " make believe " that it is a military stronghold. The old-world formulas of its elaborate military ritual, and the old-world uniforms of the veterans with whom we associate it, help to maintain the illusion and to make the place a fascinating relic of a glorious and historic past.

But that is precisely what those who think with Mr. Fox-Davies will not admit of heraldry. Although forced to admit in his own Introduction that " Armory may be a quaint survival of a time with different manners and customs, and different ideas from our own, " (p. x), he soon scornfully exclaims :—

It is foolish to contend that armory has ceased to exist save as an interesting survival of the past. It is a living

¹ *The Complete Guide*, p. ix.

² *Ibid.* p. x.

reality, more *widely* in use at the present day than ever before (p. 26).

The Tower also is, no doubt, more widely visited and appreciated "at the present day than ever before ;" but this will not avail to restore its ancient life, to make it, to our minds, the "living reality" that it was of old.

Let us, however, hear the writer's contention to the contrary.

Armory is still slowly developing and altering and changing, as it is suited to the altered manners and customs of the present day. I doubt not that this view will be a startling one to many, etc. etc. ¹

It is indeed. For in what sense is Armory "developing," to say nothing of "altering *and* changing" as well? Surely the only possible meaning of the statement that it is being "suited to the altered manners and customs of the present day" is that the helm of the middle ages has now been replaced by the silk hat, the surcoat by the frock coat, and the shield by the umbrella "in its pride." ² And these things are not so. The heralds still provide us with helms and shields of arms.

Now what, to speak plainly, is the cause of the writer's irritation? Why does he so resent the view that the time is past when Heraldry was a real and a living thing? Why does he find an absorbing interest in the coats provided by modern heralds as purveyors of arms to the nobility and gentry? One remembers how Mr. Oswald Barron

¹ *The Complete Guide*, p. x. The quotation is continued on pp. 329-330 above.

² An umbrella should be blazoned 'close' or 'in its pride.'

was moved to lofty scorn by Mr. Phillimore's contention that

Heraldry is a living science, and far more concerned with the twentieth century than with the archaic survivals of the fifteenth.

One remembers how "in the name of every antiquary and scholar who has given his time to the study of old English armory," he recorded his indignant protest "against this button-makers' gospel."¹

And one adds the thought that a fervent champion of that modern heraldry which is mainly concerned with helms, and crests and shields of arms, and which is even reviving the badges and the standards of the later Middle Ages,² could not well place himself in a more ludicrous position than that of jeering at "archaic survivals of the fifteenth" century.

Returning, however, to Mr. Fox-Davies, his real grievance I take to be this. Those who are "commencing gentleman" (as an American might express it) and who make so brave a show in the pages of *Armorial Families*, resent any distinction being drawn between their modern coats and those which have been proudly borne from the great days of chivalry, or which have been hallowed by long association with an old territorial house. They and he, as the shepherd of the flock, view

¹ *The Ancestor*, No. VI, p. 174.

² "The term *standard* properly refers to the long tapering flag used in battle and under which an overlord mustered his retainers in battle." (*Complete Guide*, p. 474). It is surprising to learn that this distinction is now being granted to any Armorial Gent. who is "willing to pay the necessary fees" (*Ibid*).

with irritation the student and the scholar who are stirred by the sight of an ancient coat which may not, indeed, have been paid for, but is fraught with glorious memories, while finding nothing of interest in their own recent grants, which to themselves are of at least equal, if not of greater interest.

Again, the serious student of heraldry, the one who seeks to learn its origin, its development, and its growth, is forced to turn to those Middle Ages when it was a living and a growing thing, when there is really something to be learnt from the inter-relation of coats of arms. The patient scholar will endeavour to unravel the influence of coats on one another and the modifications which they underwent, not without a purpose. One who has done so for many years closed a scholarly monograph with this significant remark :—

Thus, we see, early Heraldry is full of meaning and amply deserves careful study, while Tudor Heraldry is mostly rubbish and Modern Heraldry beneath contempt.¹

Heraldry, if a small, is at least a true branch of archæology and, as such, a handmaid of history and worthy of all respect. But its modern artificial existence has for scholars no meaning: for them its study would be waste of time; they are quite content to leave it to Mr. Fox-Davies and his friends.

And that, I think, is why we hear these snarls at the Middle Ages.

To recur once more to my former illustration, he who writes on the Tower of London does not

¹ Mr. A. S. Ellis on 'Constable of Flamborough' in *East Riding Ant. Soc.* 1902, Vol. XII.

concern himself with those admitted of recent years within its portals, but with those who entered them centuries ago, as kings, as warriors, as prisoners of state.

If I take a particular example of what our author means when he claims that Armory is "a living reality" which is still "developing", "altering", etc., it is because the coat is that with which he is most immediately concerned and which he thrusts, in the *Complete Guide*, somewhat insistently before us. It sprawls at large on the cover of that work and forms the subject of one of its few coloured illustrations of private arms. But I certainly shall not repeat that jest of "tuppence...coloured", which illustrates, on another page, the author's sense of humour.¹

In base, the shield I speak of displays a human face, or at least its upper half, the hair above it stark on end. The uninitiated, who would so suppose, might imagine it to be that of a "plebeian," on finding himself in italic type in the pages of *Armorial Families*. For the shield, which strikes us as a new acquaintance, is that of Mr. Fox-Davies. It is, we presume, modern. But he who has studied heraldry in connexion with English history will at once be reminded of that royal emblem, the famous "sun of York." For this is that sun "in his splendour" beloved of Richard II, which blazed upon the mainsail of his ship and made all glorious his standard, that sun which on the day of

¹ "We must go back, once again, to the bed-rock of the peacock-popinjay vanity ingrained in human nature for human nature has always had a weakness for decoration, and ever has been agreeable to (*sic*) pay the extra penny in the 'tuppence' for the coloured or decorated variety" (pp. 327-8).

Mortimer's Cross (1461) meant for the Duke of York what it meant for Cromwell at Dunbar, that sun which he bore thenceforth with his own White Rose of York and which decked the necks of his nobles with collars of roses and of suns. And again it recalls to the student the tragedy of Barnet Field (1471), when the star of the De Veres with its streams of light¹ was taken for the Sovereign's sun, changing the whole fortunes of the day, when the men who fought for Warwick slew their friends as foes. This and more will the "sun in his splendour" bring leaping to his mind. And yet, on the shield of Mr. Fox-Davies, the emblem moves him not, save perhaps with a vague wonder as to how it came, in that writer's words, to find itself "dans cette galère". It is sad, no doubt; but it is true.

Modestly, however, its new owner bears but half the emblem and blazons it as "a demi-sun issuing in base", so he only associates himself with the rising sun ("in his splendour").

The crest, however, is a joy. In the *Genealogical Magazine*, when forming his peculiar organ, there was reproduced "a delightful cartoon by F. C. G.," (I. 696). Entitled "Arma Virumque," it represented Mr. Maclean offering a dragon as the emblem of Wales, with the words, "Don't you want a nice little dragon, Sir?". A comparison of the crest with the little monster in the hands of Mr. Maclean shows a striking likeness. It is the red dragon of Wales. But again, with singular modesty, he is content with a "demi-dragon". And now we

¹ It is so described by the old chroniclers, but it was, no doubt, the mullet from their coat.

come to that supreme touch which makes of our heraldry "a living reality", or, in the words of Mr. Phillimore, "living science". "Suited to the altered manners and customs of the present day", it places in the monster's claw an object which certainly appears to represent—an auctioneer's hammer.¹ If the 'charge' below him is the rising, and not the setting sun, there is no allusion to the words 'Going; going; gone!' Is there then a cryptic reference to that somewhat vulgar shout, in the preface to *Armorial Families*, "What price for the Norman descent?"

We will now deal with *The Complete Guide*, taking as our text its luckless remark that

"the handbooks of Armory professing to detail the laws of the science have not always been written by those having complete knowledge of their subject" (p. x).

I desire to impress upon the reader by actual demonstration that, in spite of the loud claim made for Mr. Fox-Davies that he provides in his *Complete Guide* a "comprehensive and accurate guide to the law and practice of heraldry,"² and that it is written "with a fulness of knowledge which it is hoped will render the work a *standard* one in time to come",—in spite also, of his complacent assurance that he cannot consider really satisfactory any other work on heraldry,³—it is marred by blunders which betray his ignorance, carelessness, or haste.

¹ See the coloured illustration.

² This phrase is rendered prominent in the prospectus by the use of Clarendon type.

³ "I am constantly being asked to recommend a handbook of Heraldry. The ideal book has yet to be written some other modern treatises and dictionaries would have been of greater value had they never been published, and the authors might have easier tasks set them than to verify and correct their facts." (Preface to *Armorial Families*).

In the very frontispiece, facing the title-page of this "*Complete Guide to Heraldry*", the most salient feature is the royal crest, depicted as a *red* lion ! One might have imagined that even to a schoolboy it would be known that the royal crest is a lion in *gold* (' or '). It is an ominous beginning for the book. Guesses are at once the resource and the decisive proof of ignorance, and the author's guesswork on the coat of the Lords Ferrers of Groby illustrates vividly enough his so-called " fulness of knowledge ". Baffled by the change in the Ferrers arms, he first informs the reader that

The arms of the Ferrers family at a later date are found to be : gules, seven mascles conjoined or, . . . but whether the mascles are corruptions of the horseshoes, or whether (as seems infinitely more probable) they are merely a corrupted form of the *vairé*, or, and gules, it is difficult to say (p. 81).

Yet, oblivious even of his own guesses, he writes, further on (p. 148), that the occurrence of the mascles " in the arms of Ferrers, whilst not being the original Ferrers coat, suggests the thought that there may be hidden some reference to a common saintly patronage which " they enjoyed with the earls of Winchester, " or some territorial honour common to the three of which the knowledge no longer remains with us." The founder of the lords Ferrers of Groby was, of course, a younger son, to whom Groby came from his mother, a Quency co-heiress, and who thereupon adopted her father's (Quency) coat. Such is the simple explanation of the facts, for which the author, in his " fulness of knowledge," gropes in vain. That

explanation is found even in no more recondite a work than the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art. 'Heraldry'), though the arms baffled our "Complete Guide."

On the arms of Cologne we have more guesswork, betraying even greater ignorance. Of the crowns in the arms of Boston and of Hull we read that

a tradition has it that the three crowns originate from a recognised device of merchantmen, who, travelling in and trading with the East and likening themselves to the Magi, in their Bethlehem visit, adopted these crowns as the device or badge of their business. The same remarks may apply to the arms of Cologne: "Argent, on a chief gules, three crowns or."

From this fact (if the tradition be one) to the adoption of the same device by the towns to which these merchants traded is but a step (p. 297).

In spite of the large amount of space it devotes to German heraldry, our 'Complete Guide,' evidently, has never even heard that

the glory of possessing the relics of the first Gentile worshippers of Christ remained with Cologne. In that proud Cathedral, which is the glory of Teutonic art, the shrine of the three Kings has, for six centuries, been shown as the greatest of its many treasures.

Cologne had more than "merchantmen": it had the Magi themselves.

Some of the statements of fact are no less amazing than the guesses. Of the 'garb' we read that

The earliest appearance of the garb in English heraldry is on the seal of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who died

in 1232 Garbs figure in the arms of many families who originally held land by feudal tenure under the earls of Chester, *e. g.* Kevilioc ("Azure, six garbs, three, two, and one or").¹

Now, 'Kevilioc' is the surname, *not* of a family, but of Hugh 'de Kevilioc,' earl of Chester, to whom the heralds assigned the above coat, and who was actually *father* of that earl Ranulph whose 'garb,' we read, is the earliest known! Again, the author confidently writes of "the well-known arms of *Courcy (sic) Barry of six vair and gules*" (p. 84), though the eagles displayed on the Courcy coat enjoy peculiar fame from their mention by so early a writer as Geraldus Cambrensis. The author was evidently thinking of that French house of *Coucy*, of which it was the proud boast that

Roy je ne suis,
Prince ni comte aussi,
Je suis le sire de Coucy,

and which has bequeathed us in its stronghold the noblest tower in France.

But to the author it is all the same. Does he not tell us that, on the Bourchier garter plates, the mantlings "are of gules, billetté or, evidently derived from the quartering for Louvaine (*sic*) upon the arms, this quartering being: 'Gules, billetté and a fess or'" (p. 389), though this was the coat, not of Lovaine, but of a Beauchamp? Does he not assert (p. 267) that

Simon de Montfort, the great earl of Leicester, was

¹ *Complete Guide*, p. 278.

the son or (*sic*) grandson of Amicia, ¹ a coheir of the former Earls, and as such entitled to quarter the arms of the De Bellomonts (*sic*),

though he himself informs his readers that such quartering of arms was a thing of later growth (p. 543)? Does he not, again, assert that

Out of the multitude of marks (of illegitimacy), the bend, and subsequently the bend sinister, emerge as most frequently in use, and finally the bend sinister exclusively (p. 511),

and yet, on the very next page, inform his bewildered readers that

The bend sinister in its bare simplicity, as a mark of illegitimacy, was seldom used, the more frequent form being the sinister bendlet, or even the diminutive of that, the cottise.

And this, although he had warned them (p. 113) that "a cottise cannot exist alone, inasmuch as it has of itself neither direction nor position"!

Should we consult 'Sir Oracle' on the problem of the lozenge and the fusil, we learn that

In the ordinary way five or more lozenges in fess would be fusils, as in the arms of Percy, Duke of Northumberland, who bears in the first quarter: Azure, five fusils conjoined in fess or. The charges in the arms of Montagu, though only three in number, are always termed fusils (p. 147).

Are they indeed? When the author himself comes to blazon them, it is as "three lozenges conjoined in fess" (p. 388). And as for 'Percy,' he bears his fusils, *not* in the first, but in the second

¹ It was, of course, Simon's *father* who was the son of Amicia de Beaumont.

quarter, even as his predecessor bore them in the 16th century (p. 545). Our '*Complete Guide*' is apt, it seems, to ignore even his own guidance.

He does so certainly on his great discovery of a new heraldic colour. "I believe," he writes, "I am the first heraldic writer to assert the existence of the heraldic colour of white in addition to the heraldic argent" (p. 70). This assertion is based on the fact

that in the warrants by which the various labels are assigned to the different members of the Royal family, the labels are called white labels.

Yet he himself blazons "the labels in use at the moment" by the different members of the royal family, severally, as "argent" (pp. 497-8) and describes them as "recently assigned labels." Returning to the paragraph on pp. 70-71, we find the author explaining the necessity for the "white" label:—

it is necessary also that the label shall be placed upon the crest, which is a lion statant gardant or, and upon the dexter supporter which is another golden lion; to place an argent label upon either is a flat violation of the rule which requires that metal shall not be placed upon metal, but a white label upon a gold lion is not metal upon metal.

Having thus ingeniously explained the reason for the new fact he has discovered, the author soon announces an equally brilliant discovery, which throws that explanation to the winds. The "flat violation," we learn, is no violation at all!

There is one point, however, which is one of these little points one has to learn from actual experience, and

which, I believe, has never yet been quoted in any handbook of heraldry, and that is, that this rule must be thrown overboard with regard to crests and supporters The Royal labels, as already stated, appear to be a standing infraction of the rule, *if white and argent are to be heraldically treated as identical* (p. 87).¹

But this identity is precisely what he has denied on pp. 70-71, where he claims to have discovered that "white" is a distinct colour.

Let us return to that paragraph. He finds "a still further and startling confirmation" of his discovery "in the grant of a crest to Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham", in which "the coronet which is to encircle the neck of the leopard is distinctly blazoned 'argent'" and the label (which it replaced) "'white'". But if a silver coronet was to be placed upon the neck of a golden leopard (or lion), what becomes of his own argument, only seven lines above, that metal cannot be placed upon metal, and that consequently, on a golden lion, "argent" could not be placed?

From this tissue of contradiction—or, as he terms it, "confirmation"—I pass to that which is found on another page (p. 480). We there read of the arms of the earl of Wiltes, who quartered the coat of Man, that

The argent label on the arms for the Sovereignty of Man is a curious confirmation of the reservation of an argent label for Royalty.

These words actually occur *immediately* above an engraving of the arms of an earl of Lincoln, with the author's blazon "over all a label argent" (*sic*):

¹ The italics are mine.

they also occur just below the engraving of an earlier noble's arms, on which the author similarly blazons "a label argent"! Again, we have a "curious" illustration, on p. 150, "of the reservation of an argent label for Royalty," for the author there blazons the coat of Sir John Maltravers as "sable, fretty or, a label of three points argent" (*sic*). At the same period, the Prince of Wales was bearing the royal arms differenced "with a label *azure*" (p. 491)! And, to crown all, his original contention was that the label reserved for Royalty was, *not* 'argent,' but 'white.' Such is the guidance of a writer who aspires to put everyone right on Heraldry.

Need one labour the point through a further cataract of confusion? The author writes that

the patent altering or granting the Mowbray crest seems to me clear recognition of the right of inheritance of a crest passing through an heir female. This, however, it must be admitted, may be really no more than a grant, and is not in itself actual evidence that any crest had actually been borne.

Yet, only five pages earlier (p. 335), the author had given a drawing from this Mowbray's seal, showing the crest recognised as hereditary by the patent to have been actually borne by him no less than five years before! Our 'Complete Guide' further informs us that

By the time of the Restoration any idea of the transmission of crests through heiresses had been abandoned. We then find a Royal License necessary for the assumption of arms and crests (p. 342).

I should like to see that "Royal License", which

sounds like a confused recollection of the Warrant issued "after the Restoration" by Charles II to Lord Ogle to "assume and take the *Surname* of Percie and bear the *Armes* of Percie quarterly with his own," etc. etc.¹ but which apparently does *not* mention "crests."

The author's incorrigible lack of accuracy is seen in his notes on the arms of an Earl of Derby who "d. 1572" (p. 543). He is puzzled by "the arms on the escutcheon of pretence," which "are not those of his wife (Anne Hastings), who was not an heiress." But Anne Hastings was the wife of the earl who died in 1521, not of the one who "d. 1572." So, again, on p. 103, there is engraved a coat which needs to be accurately assigned. The author assigns it to John de Beaumont, Lord Beaumont, "(d. 1369)," though the name of the Lord Beaumont who died in that year was not John, but Henry. In a paragraph on the panther in British heraldry (pp. 193-4), we first read that "it is invariably (*sic*) found flammant, *i. e.* with flames issuing from the mouth and ears," and then that "it is usually (*sic*) represented vomiting flames." The same carelessness of language is seen in the statement, of the Corbets, that

Their name, like their pedigree, is unique (*sic*) inasmuch as it is one of the few (*sic*) names of undoubted Norman origin which are not territorial (p. 248).

The author must imagine that "unique" means one of a few! Neither the name nor the pedigree is in any sense unique. The Corbets are *not* even

¹ *The right to bear arms*, by 'X' (*Geneal. Mag.* II, 48).

strictly (as Eyton has shown) "one of the few remaining families which can show an unbroken male descent from the time of the Conquest." The Fitz-Geralds, who pre-eminently can do so, have a name which is "not territorial;" so has the ancient race of the Giffards ("sublimis prosapia,") whom, even in Norman days, "virtutis fama et generis copia illustres effecerat;" and the name of Corbet is no more peculiar than that of Luttrell, which is similarly an animal nickname, though the author, by erroneously writing "Geoffrey de Luttrell" (p. 329), makes it territorial.

We can tell where Mr. Fox-Davies has been "lifting" his information when we read of the famous white swan, that

From the Bohuns it has been traced to the Mandevilles, Earls of Essex, who may have adopted it to typify their descent from Adam Fitz Swanne, *temp.* Conquest (p. 467).

For one knows where this erroneous guess is found. As an expert on the Mandevilles and on the Conquest, I can state that there was no such descent. Adam Fitz Swan, lord of Hornby, was a great Northern land-owner of the old native stock, but he was living in the middle of the 12th century, not "*temp.* Conquest," and neither of his daughters and co-heirs married a Mandeville.¹ The author, however, is surely original, when he mentions as "Harmoustier" the great abbey of Marmoutier,

¹ See the admirable pedigree of his descendants in *Chartulary of St. John's Pontefract* (Yorkshire Record Series), Vol. II; and compare Farrer's *Lancashire Fines*, I. 31, 57, and *Lancashire Inquests*, I. 62-3; also *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 338, 431. The reader should observe that this throwing back of Adam to the time of the Conquest presents a striking parallel to the cases of Stanley and of Trafford (see p. 61 above).

when he speaks of a famous writer on armory, Gerard Leigh, as "General (*sic*) Leigh" (p.403), when he writes of a "Garter Hall-plate" (p.229); or when he informs us that "Narcissus flowers (occur) in the arms of Lambeth" (p. 271), by which he means the Lambert family. Such is heraldry in a hurry !

The average reviewer, naturally enough, knows nothing of heraldry, but, in one case at least, by a lucky chance, the *Complete Guide* fell into the hands of one who wrote as an expert, and who was conversant with the good work achieved by previous writers. And this is what he wrote:—

Dr. Woodward curses the 'freebooting compiler' who should come after him, and his record of an especial contempt for a certain writer who thought to enhance the value of coat-armour 'by writing pages of incredibly snobbish rubbish' about it might have persuaded Mr. Fox-Davies at least to use his notebook elsewhere. Nevertheless Dr. Woodward's cherished collections have gone to pad out the 'Complete Guide' and to earn for its compiler the character of a scholarly antiquary Whole paragraphs have been transferred without acknowledgment, and, since 'Heraldry, British and Foreign' is not the only cistern at which Mr. Fox-Davies has filled his can, we refrain from further criticism.¹

I have no responsibility for this passage, which I merely quote from the *Review*, without adopting its assertions. Those, however, who are familiar with the beautiful heraldic illustrations in *The Official Baronage of England*¹ will at once recognise all the eleven helmed heads of nobles in the *Com-*

¹ *Saturday Review*, 26 June, 1909, p. 818.

² By Mr. James E. Doyle (Longmans, 1886.)

plete Guide (pp. 307, 328, 334-5) as having appeared among them, and, with that clue, will proceed to identify over sixty shields of arms in illustrations undistinguishable from those in *The Official Baronage*. What then is the meaning of the statement, in the announcement of this book, that

The *Illustrations* are entirely new, having been prepared on a uniform and exhaustive plan.

A red lion as the royal crest¹ is, no doubt, "entirely new"; but, with regard to Mr. Doyle's book, perhaps one may venture to suggest that some explanation is called for. In his *Introduction to Armorial Families* Mr. Fox-Davies has employed the phrase: "I call those sort (*sic*) of statements untruths pure and simple" (p. vii). But I do not propose to imitate either his vehemence or his grammar.

I now proceed to criticize, further, on my own account, the work.

Let us take a single paragraph in *A complete guide to Heraldry* and analyse its contents. In the chapter on "Augmentations of Honour" we read as follows:—

The well-known augmentation of the Seymour family: "Or, on a pile gules, between six fleurs-de-lis azure," is borne to commemorate the marriage of Jane Seymour to Henry VIII, who granted augmentations to all his wives except Catharine of Aragon and Anne of Cleves. The Seymour family is, however, the only one in which the use of the augmentation has been continued. The same practice was followed by granting the arms of England to the consort of the Princess Caroline (*sic*), and to the late Prince Consort (See page 499).

¹ See p. 340 above.

We will deal with the three constituent sentences of this paragraph in their order.

A mere beginner in heraldry, surely, would detect here the crazy blazon of the so-called *Complete Guide*. For *what* is the charge "on a pile" etc.? Incredible though it may seem, Mr. Fox-Davies has omitted the very essence of the augmentation, that charge of the "Lions of England" which denoted the royal alliance!¹ We have but to turn to Boutell's familiar *Manual* to learn that Jane Seymour's augmentation was "or, on a Pile, gu., between six Fleurs-de-Lys, az., *three Lions of England*." I term his blazon "crazy," however, not on account of this omission, but because, as he himself gives it, it makes nonsense.

And yet, though he cannot even cite this "well-known" augmentation correctly, he actually took upon himself to issue a "revised" edition of Boutell—Boutell, to whom we have to turn to supply his own omission! I shall not tax him with his own words: "There is still a good deal of unblushing audacity in existence;" but one may at least say that his self-confidence is great.

I pass to the second sentence. Again the beginner in heraldry would point out to its author that a personal augmentation of honour to a king's Consort could not entitle her relatives to "continue" its use. But why then, it may be asked, is the Seymour family an exception? Why does it use, and rightly use, "the well-known augmentation"? The explanation is quite simple, though our *Complete Guide* has evidently never heard of it.

¹ The fleurs-de-lys, without them, would not denote it sufficiently.

When Edward VI came to the throne, he granted to his uncle the Duke of Somerset and the whole Seymour family the right to use this augmentation—"gold a pile gules thereon iij lioness passant regardant¹ of the field langued and armed with azur, between six flower de luces in asur"—as a special favour, in commemoration of his mother.² It is in virtue of this distinct and special grant, and not because "the use of the augmentation has been continued," that the Seymours are entitled to use it.

With regard to the third sentence it was *not* the same practice to grant the actual "arms of England" to the two Consorts named as to devise for Henry's Queens augmentations of honour derived from those arms, of which augmentations there are other examples,³ granted to those who have not been Queens. Yet this, perhaps, is a small matter as compared with speaking of the Princess Charlotte, by whose untimely death, when heiress to the Crown, the country was so deeply stirred, as "the Princess *Caroline*."

¹ In spite of the *Complete Guide*'s definite assertion (p. 181) that "*Lion passant regardant* is as the lion passant, but with the head turned right round looking behind (Fig. 298)," the lions granted to the Seymours were, on the contrary, lions of England, and are so depicted in the margin of the grant.

² The "imperial crown" was specially excepted from this fresh grant. It appears, I believe, at Hampton Court, over Queen Jane Seymour's coat, and it was also shown over her coat in the very interesting wall-painting discovered at Rye in 1905 (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* L. 120). What remains of her coat in this painting was submitted to Mr. Everard Green, Rouge Dragon, at Heralds' College, for identification, and it is amusing to find him identifying a quartering which can yet be distinguished as the arms of "Mac Williams" (*Ibid.*) For, though there was a family of the name who held an estate in Essex and used these arms, it was shown long ago by that learned antiquary, Mr. J. A. C. Vincent, that the Seymours were not descended from them, but from Mark William, a citizen and mayor of Bristol, whose daughter married Seymour (*Genealogist*, [N. S.], 1896, xii, 73-5). It takes, apparently, a long time for such knowledge to permeate the walls of the Heralds' College. But then, as Mr. Fox-Davies would express it, such correction of error is "unofficial".

³ e. g. the well-known augmentation of the Manners family, with its lions of England and fleurs-de-lis.

Again and again we trace the signs of the writer's carelessness and haste. On the opposite page to that which contains the paragraph quoted, we read (towards the top) of an augmentation granted for a feat of arms "near Terouenne (*sic*) 5 Henry VII," which could not possibly belong to the date named. Surely, even Mr. Fox-Davies has heard of "the Battle of the Spurs" (fought for Théroutanne) and might know that it was fought in the year of Flodden, 1513, both battles, it is interesting to note, being commemorated by the grant of augmentations of honour.

Lower down on the same page we read of Richard II that "in 1386, when he created the Earl of Oxford (Robert de Vere) Duke of Ireland, he granted him as an augmentation the arms of Ireland ('Azure, three crowns or') within a bordure argent." This grant was not made "when he created the Earl of Oxford Duke of Ireland," but at an earlier date. And why does the writer glibly speak of "Azure, three crowns, &c.." as "the arms of Ireland"? They are not so described in the grant, and they really were, as is well-known, the arms assigned to St. Edmund, "one of the most popular national saints of medieval England."¹ The author further displays his ignorance of medieval heraldry by actually writing, in his glib fashion, of "the cross and martlets of St. Edmund" (*sic*)² though this was the coat, *not* of St. Edmund, but of St. Edward the Confessor,

¹ The error is the more inexcusable because Woodward, whose pages he has so freely used, styles the coat granted to Robert de Vere "the mythical coat of St. Edmund."

² *Complete Guide*, p. 473.

which Richard II similarly added to his own royal arms and to those of Mowbray also, besides adding them (differenced by bordures) to the arms of his maternal relatives, the Holands.

This brings us to one of the author's supposed discoveries, which is only, as a matter of fact, a strange, but persistent blunder of his own. That blunder is that Richard II made Thomas (Mowbray), Duke of Norfolk, a "grant of the arms of Plantagenet (*sic*), which thus *technically* became thereafter the arms of Mowbray." ¹ The amazing thing is that he has printed twice over his authority for that statement, ² and that no such statement is found in it ! Its heading is—

Rich(ard) 2 gave to Thomas Duke of Norff. & Erle Marshall the armes of Saint Edward Confessor in these words

The heading is strictly accurate, and the narrative from which the passage is taken is duly printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (VI, 321). ³

I here place the *Monasticon* version by the side of the quaint jargon printed by that "scholarly" writer (as reviewers sometimes term him), Mr. Fox-Davies.

MR. FOX-DAVIES and THE TRUE TEXT.

Et dedit eidem Thome ad Et dedit eidem Thomæ
pertandum (*sic*) in sigillo ad portandum in sigillo et

¹ *Genealogical Magazine* (1899), II, 401.

² *Ibid.*, and *The Complete Guide*, p. 465.

³ "Progenies Mowbraiorum." It is one of the usual narratives of the patron's family. Mr. H. J. Ellis (of the Department of MSS.) kindly informs me that the *Monasticon* text is from a transcript by Francis Thynne in Cott. MS. Cleopatra C. III. Sir Harris Nicolas (in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXI) printed the same passage quite correctly from the transcript by Charles, Lancaster Herald, in Cott. MS. Julius C. VII.

et vexillo quo (*sic*) arma S^{ti} Edwardi. Idcirco arma bipartita portavit scil't Sci Edwardi et domini marcialis (*sic*) anglia et duo parva scuta cum leonibus et (*sic*) utraq' parto (*sic*) predictorum armorum. vexillo suo arma Sancti Edwardi. Idcirco arma bipartita portavit, videlicet Sancti Edwardi et domini marescalli Angliæ et duo parva scuta cum leonibus ex utraque parte prædictorum armorum.

There is no question of printer's errors, for all the freaks in the earlier version have been faithfully reproduced in the second, ten years later.

What the writer of the narrative states is that the King gave Thomas the arms of St. Edward, for use on his seal and his banner, and that in consequence of this grant (*Idcirco*) the Duke bore those arms impaled with those of the lord marshal. This is interesting and simple enough to real students of heraldry; ¹ for, just as Richard II assumed the arms of St. Edward, and impaled them (as the dexter coat) with his own, so he granted them, evidently, not only to Thomas, but to three other of his relatives.

The facts are these. In 1397, on Michaelmas Day, Richard celebrated the triumph of his cause by a shower of peerage honours. He created, seated in Parliament on his throne, five dukes, a duchess, a marquess, and four earls: ² and the chronicler informs us that he then added the arms of the Confessor to his own. ³ As four of the five dukes then created are found similarly impaling St. Edward's arms, namely the Duke of Norfolk

¹ Woodward himself states the facts quite correctly (*Heraldry*, pp. 474, 528).

² *Rot. Parl.*, III, 355; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 227.

³ "Proinde Rex mutavit arma sua, addiditque scuto suo arma Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris" (Walsingham).

and (with marks of difference) the Dukes of Hereford, Exeter, and Surrey, they must have begun to do so, on their creation, when the King himself adopted them. The coats with which Thomas (Mowbray) Duke of Norfolk and the Holands (Dukes of Exeter and Surrey) impaled them were the actual "lions of England," the arms of Edward I, duly differenced. And the reason why they bore them was that Mowbray and Holand, respectively, represented sons of Edward I., by his second marriage, namely Thomas "of Brotherton," and Edmund "of Woodstock." It is all beautifully simple.

The interesting point is that we find Mowbray and Holand assuming—and allowed to assume—the royal arms (differenced) *in lieu* of those they inherited from their fathers.¹ Mr. Fox-Davies, his head full of the copybook rules of modern heraldry, cannot grasp the possibility of their venturing to do this without an express "grant" from the Crown.

And yet he was forced, with much surprise, to admit the principle in the case of the crest. An earlier grant from Richard II had expressly recognised the "hereditary" right of the Duke of Norfolk (then an earl) to the crest of the heir-apparent to the Crown! On this we read:—

The ideas of the present day and the presently accepted laws of armory are absolutely in opposition to the inheritance or transmission of a crest by female heirs, but the

¹ There is actual evidence that they did so *before* they were granted those of St. Edward. The Mowbrays bore those of Thomas 'of Brotherton,' England with a label argent, and the Holands, earls of Kent, those of Edmund 'of Woodstock,' England with a bordure argent.

foregoing grant would seem to show that matters were otherwise (*sic*) in those days, or that then, as now, royal arms had laws unto themselves. The words are a clear recognition of a then existing right, and the insertion of the word "hereditary" precludes any attempt to explain away the point by the supposition of any prior and specific gift or grant of the crest.¹

Just so. And if this was the case with the royal crest, it would *a fortiori* be so with the arms.

Moreover, if Mr. Fox-Davies had acquainted himself with the case of Holand, he would have found that the Holands also used the royal crest, the golden standing lion ("leopard"), duly differentiated, so that there was evidently a principle at work, which was acted on consistently in the case of both families.

Nevertheless, Mr. Fox-Davies takes upon himself to criticize the action even of his friends the heralds in Chapter assembled. It is true that this Chapter was held in 1474, when they had not the advantage of a "Complete Guide," and when they were ignorant, as he would hold, of the modern rules of heraldry. They suffered also, he kindly explains, from a "misconception of the facts concerning an important case which doubtless was considered a precedent." And so we come again to his own supposed discovery.

it appears to have been overlooked that the Mowbrays bore these Royal Arms of Brotherton not as an inherited quartering, but as a grant to themselves.²

We have seen that this alleged grant is a mere delusion of his own, based apparently on a hasty

¹ *Genealogical Magazine*, II. 400. See also pp. 345, 346 above.

² *Complete Guide*, p. 556.

reading of a passage which contains nothing of the kind. The only alternative explanation is that, to the writer who believes that *gens* means "a man," the learned tongue in which the passage is written has proved an insuperable obstacle to grasping its author's meaning.¹

In any case his point is this. In 1474 the heralds came to the decision, as a matter of principle, that the Duke of Buckingham, as heir ("ayer") to Thomas of Woodstock, "Duke of Glocestre and Sonne to King Edward the third," might "beire his Coote alone."²

They evidently followed, most exactly, the Mowbray and *Holand* precedents, and allowed the Duke the arms of the royal ancestor of whom he was, similarly, *sole* heir.

Mr. Fox-Davies' criticism is—

I imagine that this decision was in all probability founded upon the case of the Mowbrays, which was not at the time an exact precedent, because with the Staffords there appears to have been no such Royal grant as existed with the Mowbrays.³

Here again we have that "Royal grant" which exists only, we have seen, in his own confused imagination. In short, as he would say in his quaint English, "matters were otherwise."

¹ Possibly this is the true explanation, for we are told on p. 273 that the legend on a coin of the Emperor Hadrian runs "Restutori (*sic*) Galliæ," while on p. 276 we find the interesting suggestion, as to the Cantelupe coat: "Is it not probable that lions' faces (*i.e.* head *de* leo) may have been suggested by the name" (Cantelowe)? There are schools, I fear, in which such grammar might incite to physical castigation. And it savours, surely, of *lèse-majesté* to assert (p. 451) that the Hohenzollern motto is "Nihil sine Deus" (*sic*)!

² *The Complete Guide*, p. 556.

³ *The Complete Guide*.

It was not the heralds who were guilty of a misconception : it was he himself who had blundered. Yet, proud of his superior knowledge, he will not allow us to forget this unlucky grant. "Heedless of grammar,"¹ he asserts that "the grant of the arms of Plantagenet are (*sic*) not the only armorial honours to which the Howards have succeeded,"² and is good enough to explain that—

the knowledge that the arms of Plantagenet had been regranted to the Mowbrays is not very general, and we take it that there are very few who are aware that.... the Duke of Norfolk and his predecessors of the House of Howard bear and have borne these Royal Plantagenet arms, not as the quartering for 'Thomas of Brotherton,' but as a quartering for Mowbray, to which family (*sic*) the arms of Plantagenet were granted, as we have seen, to be borne (with the arms of Edward the Confessor) as their chief and principal arms.³

To which one replies, (1) that the grant was *not* of "the arms of Plantagenet"; (2) that it was *not* made to "the Mowbrays" as a "family," but to one member thereof; (3) that these "Royal Plantagenet arms" are *not* borne by the Dukes of Norfolk "for Mowbray," but "for Brotherton," according to a work which Mr. Fox-Davies des-

¹ *Vide* 'The Jackdaw of Rheims.'

² *Gen. Mag.* II, 439. We similarly read in the *Complete Guide*, of a well-known Order, that "its insignia is (*sic*) worn at court" (p. 568), and we shall learn below, of its author, that "the fruit of his labours are (*sic*) embodied in" it. One is loth to suggest that Mr. Fox-Davies reviewed his own *Armorial Families* in his own magazine, but when we read of its illustrations "from drawings by Mr. G. W. Eve, A. R. P. E., of which the achievement of the arms of De Tonge are (*sic*) a good example" (*Geneal. Mag.* II, 458), we seem, surely, to recognise his own inimitable grammar, even as his unconventional Latin adorns the opposite page with the bold, but strange device : 'MORS PATIOR (*sic*) MACULA.'

³ *Geneal. Mag.*, II, 442.

cribes as of "unchallengeable" authority, his own *Armorial Families*! ¹

As to the "arms of Saint Edward" (the Confessor), Mr. Fox-Davies holds that their grant, without difference, to the Duke of Norfolk, "is the more remarkable as they were borne by the Duke impaled with the arms of England." ² But the coat with which the Duke did actually impale them was that of Thomas "of Brotherton," namely that of Edward I differenced by a label. As the King himself impaled them with the arms he had inherited from Edward III, namely France and England quarterly, ³ there was no possibility of confusion.

In his original article on the subject, Mr. Fox-Davies took upon himself to criticise a note in the *Complete Peerage*, which spoke of the hapless Earl of Surrey "quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor," under Henry VIII, "in defiance of the rules of Heraldry," as a "piece of folly and conceit." His comment was that—

If the foregoing grant be authentic—and there seems no reason to doubt it,—the folly and conceit are discounted (*sic*) and the "defiance of the laws of Heraldry" somewhat trivial..... As the arms in question are said to have been granted to their maternal ancestors, and as they were set up in conjunction with the arms of Howard, it is difficult to see wherein the offence lay. ⁴

¹ Ed. 1894, p. 739. On some pages in the same volume it is entered as "for Thomas of Brotherton."

² *Complete Guide*, p. 596.

³ They are so shown on the brass of his standard-bearer, Sir Simon de Felbrigge.

⁴ *Genealogical Magazine*, II, 402-3. So also on p. 396: "with regard to their arms we find on the one hand the grant to them (*sic*) of royal privileges, for the simple exercise of which privileges on the other hand, some of their descendants suffered attainder, and in one case death upon the scaffold."

Difficult, perhaps, for Mr. Fox-Davies, who carelessly asserts that the grant was made to the Earl's "maternal ancestors," though as the editor of the *Complete Peerage*, in due course, replied:

no limitation whatever having been made, the grant was apparently purely a mark of personal favour, and not one that would extend to the grantee's posterity.¹

We know that this was so in the case of the Vere augmentation (p. 353 above). This view, which is based on the absence of words of inheritance, is borne out by the fact that the grantee's descendants did not treat the right as hereditary or continue the use of the coat.² But, in a moment of rashness, the Earl of Surrey revived it. Mr. Fox-Davies appears to have benefited by the correction, for his contention does not appear in *The Complete Guide*.

When he issues in due course his "Completer Guide to Heraldry," his heraldic education may have further improved as the result of my own criticism. I say "further," for the Howard augmentation proves that it has done so already. Ten years ago, he admitted the justice of my contention that, under the limitation, no Howard—not even their head, the Duke of Norfolk himself,—was entitled to the famous Flodden augmentation which adorns the family coat of arms. But he held that "Probably however subsequent records and exemplifications have regularised its use by other members of the Howard family." To this

¹ *Ibid.* p. 509.

² This is well seen on another page (p. 493) of the *Complete Guide* itself, where the coats of successive Mowbray Dukes are shown. And the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals* affords original and decisive evidence.

I replied that the heralds, on whose mysterious authority he relied, had, of course, no power to alter the original limitation in the Act of Parliament, and that he did not even suggest it had been changed.¹ So we now read that "it is borne by official sanction, *or more likely perhaps by official inadvertence,*"² by the Duke of Norfolk and the rest of the Howard family."³ *Sic transit.*

The reader, probably, will now have grasped that the author of *The Complete Guide* is himself in need of guidance. Nor am I the only writer who has had to insist upon the fact. Keeping to the subject of augmentations, we find him writing that "the earliest undoubted (*sic*) one in this country that I am aware of dates from the reign of Edward III," when Sir John de Pelham, who "shared in the glory of the battle of Poitiers, and in the capture of the French king" John, "was granted two round buckles with thongs." Upon which his critic comments:

Froissart and his fellows know nothing of Sir John's deed, and the thongs appear first two hundred years later, purveyed by a herald to a Pelham against the wish of the head of the house, who protested against such "altering of arms for gain."⁴

Alas for poor Mr. Fox-Davies, who writes, we learn, "with a fulness of knowledge, which it is hoped will render the work a *standard* one in time to come."⁵

¹ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 41.

² The italics are mine.

³ *Complete Guide*, p. 590.

⁴ *Saturday Review*, 26 June, 1909, p. 818.

⁵ Prospectus of *The Complete Guide*.

Again and again we return to the true cause of his failure, namely that his real interest is in the so-called 'Armory' of to-day and that in historic heraldry his knowledge is at fault. He betrays, indeed, the fact himself, when we find him claiming that

During the editorship of 'Armorial Families' and kindred works, the author has had a practical experience which is probably unrivalled in its extent, and the fruit of his labours are (*sic*) now embodied in the present volume.¹

A specimen of that fruit "are" the statement that "fractured castles (*sic*) will be found in the shield of Willoughby quartered by Bertie" (p. 282),² from which we discover that the real coat, the 'fretty' coat of the Lords Willoughby, which the Berties quartered as their heirs, is to him all unknown.

To learn what a frightful hash Mr. Fox-Davies can make of his heraldry and genealogy alike, even when he has only to copy from the printed works of his predecessors, let us glance at two consecutive illustrations (Figs. 717, 718) in his book. They are duly found, source included, in Doyle's *Official Baronage*, III, 742, 746. Under the coat (718) of Richard, Duke of York (father of Edward IV) we read that he was "son of Edward, Earl of Cambridge and Duke of York", which he was not; and then "Arms as preceding", which they are not.³ We then turn to the preceding coat (717),

¹ *Ibid.*

² See vol. I, p. 32 above.

³ The 'preceding' arms were "France (ancient) and England quarterly" differenced.

that of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and read under it :—

His son Edward, Earl of Cambridge, until he succeeded his father, i.e. before 1462 (*sic*), bore the same with an additional difference of a bordure of Spain (Fig. 316). Vincent attributes to him, however, a label as Fig. 719, which possibly he bore after (*sic*) his father's death.

Now Edward did not bear the same coat, nor did he difference it with "a bordure," but with a *label* of Castile (Vincent says a label of Spain) ; and we have only to turn to " Fig. 316 " to learn that it was not Edward, but Richard, his younger brother, who differenced with a bordure of Leon (not "Spain"). Edward did *not* succeed his father in 1462, but in 1402, when he adopted his father's label of York, having borne the other, not "after" but *before* his father's death. All this was fully explained in Boutell's 'Manual of Heraldry' (pp. 184, 196, 197), of which Mr. Fox-Davies has presumed to issue a "revised" edition !

And if he should retort that *the Complete Guide* is mainly concerned with "a practical exposition of the science, as practised at the present day,"¹ well, we will take an example of that also. 'Rules' and 'laws' in Heraldry are with him almost an obsession : his 'Armory' is manacled and fettered. Let us turn then to his chapter on "the rules of blazon." Now one must not insist too harshly on absolute uniformity in blazon. It is, after all, but a means to an end, and the blazon which enables a coat to be easily and accurately depicted attains that end, whether the wording is in accordance

¹ Prospectus of *The Complete Guide*.

with arbitrary ‘rules’ or not. Nevertheless, one does at least expect it of Mr. Fox-Davies, who is a perfect formalist in ‘Armory’ and attaches so much importance to the very *minutiæ* of the science. Yet when he has occasion to blazon the “famous coat” of Carlos, the coat which commemorates the King’s escape in the Boscobel oak-tree, he cannot even be consistent in his own wording. Here are his two versions :—

Or, on a mount in base vert, an oak-tree proper, fructed or,¹ surmounted by a fess gules, charged with three imperial crowns of the third (Plate II) (p. 262)	Or, issuing from a mount in base vert, an oak-tree proper, over all on a fess gules, three imperial crowns also proper (Plate II) (p. 589)
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We first observe that the oak-tree is blazoned “fructed or”² in the one case, but not in the other, and that the three crowns appear as “of the third” in one case, but “proper” in the other. These two alterations appear to be connected if, as I presume, “the third” refers to “or.” It is one of the inviolable rules with all heraldic ‘precisians’ that a tincture must never be repeated, but the circuitous phrase “of the first” (“second,” and so on) be substituted.³ I agree with Mr. Oswald Barron that this is a clumsy method, but in any case it seems to have brought Mr. Fox-Davies to grief. His imperial crowns, it will be seen, are not blazoned alike.

¹ The italics are mine.

² It is so depicted in the coloured illustration and should be so blazoned, according to the rule on p. 266.

³ Some of the pundits who have striven to smother heraldry in “rules” apply, I believe, to the ‘metals’ a variation of this rule, but all agree that repetition is forbidden.

But I am more impressed by the two phrases "over all" and "surmounted by." The anxious reader may enquire which of them is really right. According to the rule laid down by Mr. Fox-Davies himself, they are actually both wrong. On p. 103, in his passion for 'rules' and 'laws,' he draws a sharp distinction between "debruised" and "over all." We first read that

When any charge, ordinary, or mark of cadency surmounts a single object, that object is termed "debruised" by that ordinary.

If so, the single "oak-tree" should have been blazoned by him as "debruised," not "surmounted," by the fess.¹ On the other hand,

If it surmounts everything, as, for instance, "a bendlet sinister," this would be termed "over all."

Would it indeed? We have only to turn to p. 554 to read that

instances.... can be found.... of a coat with quarterings, the whole debruised (*sic*) by a bendlet sinister, notably in the case of a family of Talbot, where eight quarters are so marked.²

But having thus proclaimed his 'rules,' our 'Guide' is at once in difficulty. For, returning to p. 103, we read that

When one charge surmounts another, the undermost

¹ As a matter of fact, Mr. Woodward, in his great work on heraldry, actually selected as his example of "debruised" a Watson coat precisely similar in form (less the Crowns) to the Carlos coat (Plate XXXII, fig. 4). It is blazoned in 'Burke's Armory': "on a mount an oak tree, acorned or, debruised by a fess azure."

² So also on p. 512: "Anciently the bendlet was drawn across arms and quarterings, and an example of a coat of arms of some number of quarterings debruised (*sic*) for an illegitimate family is found in the registration of a Talbot pedigree."

one is mentioned first, as in the arms of Beaumont (see Fig. 62). Here the lion rampant is the principal charge, and the bend which 'debruises' (*sic*) it is mentioned afterwards.

If the bend "debruises" the lion in the Beaumont coat, then the "fess" debruises the oak-tree in the Carlos coat, for aught that the author tells us to the contrary. But we promptly find ourselves again at sea. For his actual blazon (on the same page) under the Beaumont coat does not employ 'debruised,' but runs "a lion rampant or, over all (*sic*) a bend gobony" etc.¹ Planché, whose *Pursuivant of Arms* is at least well removed from the rut of heraldic guide-books, went so far as to select, as an example of "debruised," the well-known coat of Henry of Lancaster (brother and heir of Earl Thomas), which he blazoned "England debruised by a bend azure" (p. 189). Boutell, on the other hand, blazoned the coat: "England differenced with an azure bendlet."²

This coat affords an interesting test of *The Complete Guide's* blazoning. We learn on p. 511 that

a bend (*sic*) superimposed over a shield..... was originally depicted as a bend (*sic*) dexter, and as a mark of legitimate cadency is found in the arms of the *younger* son of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, etc.

But on p. 480 we read that

At Caerlaverock, Henry of Lancaster, brother and successor of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster,

Portait les armes son frère
Au beau bastoun sans label,

¹ The simple medieval blazon of the coat ignored both such terms as 'debruised' and 'over all' or their equivalents.

² Ed. 1863, p. 325.

i. e. he bore the Royal Arms differenced by a bendlet¹ (*sic*) 'azure.'

Lastly, beneath an engraving of the coat (p. 491) we find the simple blazon: "England with a bend (*sic*) azure."

Here then our *Complete Guide* casts its principles to the winds: ignoring all such later rules as those which prattle of 'debruised,' 'surmounted,' or 'over all,' it reverts to what we have seen was the simple medieval blazon. And yet Mr. Fox-Davies is eager to denounce—

an unofficial attempt to introduce a new system of blazoning under the guise of a supposed reversion to earlier forms of description.... even if it were what it claims to be, merely the revival of ancient forms and methods, its reintroduction cannot be said to be either expedient or permissible.... To ignore modern armory is simply futile and absurd" (p. 99).

Nevertheless, in blazoning a shield of the 16th century, he ignores his own elaborate rules (p. 103), and blazons the coat of FitzPayne, like the similar Lancaster coat, in simple medieval fashion: "Gules, three lions passant in pale argent, *a bendlet azure.* (p. 545)"²

For what is the upshot of the whole matter? It is that a heraldry in its decadence (*pace* Mr. Fox-Davies) has been so confused and overlaid by the pedants' maze of rules that even *The Complete Guide* can only lead to a morass. If the little pettifogging "rules" on which its author loves to

¹ "A bendlet," we learn on p. 113, is "a charge half the width of the bend."

² The italics are mine. It is curious that this blazon happens to be also Mr. Doyle's under the same quartered coat (II, 654).

insist were even intelligible or consistent,¹ one might forgive their pedantry; but I have shown that even to their champions they are but a maze of confusion. To borrow one of his own phrases they are among "those pleasant little insanities which have done so much to (*sic*) the detriment of heraldry" (p. 72).

Should he, however, fall back on "*Armorial Families* and kindred works," as on an impregnable position, well, we will follow him even there and meet him on his own ground. Although to a student of historic heraldry it is not of the slightest consequence whether a coat has what he terms "official authority" or not, whether it is "recorded" at the College or not, we will apply to him his own test.

Beginning a 'Dictionary of Heraldry' on the ground that "there is at present no dictionary of heraldry which can be thoroughly relied upon," he observed of the letter A that

The Greek letter Alpha forms a part of the coat-of-arms attributed to the office of Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge (but this coat-of-arms is also without authority)²

Alas for the writer's "fulness of knowledge"! Several of his readers were able to enlighten him and refer him to the grant of this coat by Cooke, Clarencieux King of Arms in 1590.³ Nor was

¹ For instance, under 'semé' (p. 89), we are told that "A field or charge semé of fleurs-de-lis is termed 'semé-de-lis', but if semé of bezants it is bezanté, and is termed platé if semé of plates," etc. etc. Why this distinction? The field of the Beaumont coat was blazoned in the Middle Ages "*flurette dor*," not, as by Mr. Fox-Davies, a few lines lower down, "semé-de lis." And heraldry, after all, comes to us from the Middle Ages.

² *Genealogical Magazine*, II, 73.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 124-6.

this wonderful, if they were students of heraldry, for the actual grant had been exhibited at the great London Heraldic Exhibition, and had duly appeared in the catalogue thereof issued three years before he wrote this passage.

Let us take another instance. As an author of *The Book of Public Arms*, Mr. Fox-Davies has specially studied the subject of corporate heraldry, on which the public, doubtless, by this time, considers him a great "authority." Yet in that work the town of Dover was doomed, with the 'plebeian' of *Armorial Families*, to the shame of italic type. We there read :—

Dover (Kent)—Has no Armorial bearings. Burke in his 'General Armory,' however, quotes: 'Sable, a cross argent, between four leopards' heads or.'

on which Mr. Fox-Davies comments :

The origin of the above coat I am utterly at a loss to even (*sic*) guess.¹

There is something pathetic in such ignorance,—I mean, such "fulness of knowledge." The poor editor had again to be enlightened by one of his readers, who explained to him that the coat was that "of Dover Priory."²

But this was not the worst. The Town Clerk of Dover produced "an official letter" from the College of Arms, and Mr. Fox-Davies had, again, to swallow the unwelcome leek. From that letter "it is evident," he wrote, "that Dover does

¹ *Ibid*, p. 76.

² *Ibid*, p. 124. The actual proof, however, is found in an impression of the seal of a Prior of Dover which is in the Dover Museum (Statham's *Dover*, p. 156).

possess arms.”¹ Arms? One is driven, in despair, to ask whether official heralds know what “arms” are. It would be scarcely credible, if we had not their own testimony, that Queen Elizabeth’s heralds, when they visited the county in 1574, entered as “the Armes” of Dover the obverse and reverse of its common seal; that in ‘Arms of Towns,’ a MS. book in the library of the College, the obverse is made into a shield as the arms of Dover, and that the late Garter directed one of his officers, on the strength of the above evidence, to recognise (Mr. Fox-Davies holds) as Dover’s arms a design which is not, and was never meant to be, heraldic at all!

To any intelligent antiquary, to any competent archæologist, the blunder must seem grotesque. For the scene is of absolutely normal type on an ancient borough seal. It represents St. Martin in his famous act of charity, St. Martin, the patron saint of that venerable Dover Priory, the canons of which are mentioned in the pages of Domesday book.² Even so had Rochester, on its ancient borough seal, St. Andrew stretched upon his cross, or Appleby, St. Lawrence on his gridiron, or Rye, St. Mary shown with her church and her realm of heaven, or Hastings, St. Michael and his dragon, or Tenterden, St. Mildred enshrined, or Colchester, St. Helen and her ‘invented’ cross. Could anyone but an official herald take such designs for “arms”? Yes, there is always Mr. Fox-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 76.

² See, for this Priory and for the seal itself, “a most precious relic of ancient days,” Mr. Statham’s *History of Dover* (1899), which contains extremely fine photographs of the obverse and reverse of this seal.

Davies, who now, of course, duly states that "St. Martin occurs in the arms of Dover."¹ And yet it is he himself, not the writer of these lines, who asserts that "the ignorance of English heralds has transformed into the proboscides of elephants" the "horns" which their German brethren placed "on either side of the crest," and have so styled them in modern grants as "the result of pure ignorance."²

In the great days of English heraldry, long before there was a Herald's College, the men of Dover flew that banner which still figures on their ancient seal, the guard and the terror of the Narrow Seas. The Frenchmen fled before it in the victory of Dover Straits and above the carnage of St. Mahé it swept the Normans from the sea. Upon that banner the herald's art rose to a mystical beauty. Mating the arms of England's King with silver ships upon an azure field, it showed them, not side by side, but indissolubly conjoined, proclaiming, inviolate through the ages, the bridal of England and the sea.

But let us return to Mr. Fox-Davies, who would look on these "so-called" arms (p. 182) as 'unofficial' or 'bogus.' What has he to say in *The Complete Guide* (1909) on the subject of what is probably the most famous of the corporate coats in England, the arms of the City of London?

The arms of the City of London are recorded (*sic*) in the College of Arms (Vincent) without a crest (and by the way without supporters)..... Whilst dealing with the arms of London, one of the favourite "flaring"

¹ *Complete Guide*, p. 164.

² *Ibid*, pp. 213, 343.

examples of ancient but unrecorded arms often mentioned as an instance in which the Records (*sic*) of the College of Arms are at fault, perhaps I may be pardoned for adding that the shield *is* recorded (*sic*). The crest and supporters are not..... the supporters now used are not recorded (*sic*)¹

This is an instance of the triumphant scoffs,—scoffs, doubtless, which impress the public,—in which the writer is apt to indulge. Unluckily for him, it only exposes his own carelessness or ignorance.

If the reader will refer to that organ of his views, the *Genealogical Magazine* (October, 1898) he will find Mr. Fox-Davies there re-printing, “from an article in the ‘City Press’ (August 19 and 25, 1896),” his fuller criticisms on the “armorial achievement” of the City of London. We there read :

The arms are not (*sic*) recorded in the College of Arms officially, or by virtue of any formal warrant, and for some reason or other, which it is difficult to surmise, were omitted in the various Visitations of the City taken at different times, but the shield, and that only, duly appears amongst the collections of Vincent, retained in the Heralds’ College, and none will dispute the weight this carries inside or outside the College (II, 249).

Anxious to be strictly fair to the writer, I have stated his position in his own words.

Is it then the case that the arms are “recorded,” that they are duly entered in the College “Records,” as the *Complete Guide* so confidently asserts? The answer is simple: it is *not* the case. “Records,” “on record,” “recorded,” are specialised terms at

¹ *The Complete Guide*, pp. 329-330.

the College : they have to be used with the greatest care. For, according to the doctrine of Mr. Fox-Davies, everything turns upon their use ; arms are " good " or " bad," " legal " or " illegal," according as they are recorded, or not recorded. " The city of London," we read, " is entitled to bear " its arms,¹ but " of the crest and supporters there is no record whatsoever in the College of Arms ; consequently they are not legal."² In the graceful words of *The Complete Guide*, " the City of London uses..... a bogus modern crest, and even more modern bogus supporters, so a few other eccentricities need not, in that particular instance, cause surprise" (p. 382).

On enquiring in the highest quarter whether " the collections of Vincent " are accepted by the officers of arms as " records," I am definitely informed that "*they are not*".³

Let us consider the position. It is the very kernel of the doctrine held by Mr. Fox-Davies and by ' X ' that " arms," in the latter's words, " are good or bad as they are recorded or unrecorded " at the College. Surely, therefore, if there is one point on which one would expect Mr. Fox-Davies to be more especially careful, it is the use of the word " recorded." Yet writing, we learn " with a fulness of knowledge which it is hoped will render the work a *standard* one in time to come," he does not even know, we find, what constitutes a " record " in the eyes of those officers of arms

¹ *Gen. Mag.* II, 249.

² *Genealogical Mag.* II, 251.

³ The point is of some importance, as will be seen elsewhere in this volume. For if they were so accepted, the College would stand committed to any fabulous pedigrees they might contain.

who "have the *sole* authority and control in armorial matters."

It is therefore, as I said, *not* the case that the arms of the City of London are "recorded" and are consequently "legal" by his own test. He cannot even play his own game.

That the term "record" has for him no intelligible meaning, is shown by a phrase which he has used twice over:—

The authority for this statement is doubtless an entry in one of the records of the College of Arms (R. 22, 67) which is itself a copy of another record.¹

There is in one of the records of the College of Arms (R. 22, 67) which is itself a copy of another record, the following statement.²

How can that which is only "a copy" of a record be itself a record? Moreover, even the original, in this case, has no pretension to be a record. As I explained long ago, "this precious 'record' is not a record at all, but is a mere copy of a monastic narrative, which is grossly and demonstrably inaccurate."³

When we read, of the Mowbrays' ostrich feathers, that

Contemporary proof of the use of badges is often difficult to find.... But there seems to be very definite authority for the existence of the badge (p. 465)

one marvels that this should be sought in such secondary evidence, when the true contemporary proof exists in the series of Mowbray seals.

¹ *Gen. Mag.* (1899) II, 401.

² *Complete Guide*, p. 465.

³ *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. xiv.

Let us now test Mr. Fox-Davies at another point. The Prospectus to the 6th and latest edition of *Armorial Families* devotes one of its pages to "some points in Scottish Heraldic Law." It is there laid down, in emphatic Clarendon type, that

A Scottish Coat of Arms must be entered in Lyon Register to be lawful and valid.... A Scottish Coat of Arms (unlike an English Coat of Arms) can only belong to the head of the family (by blood) for the time being, descending only to each heir-male in succession, and can be transmitted *as a quartering only* by the heir of line in cases where the heir of line and heir male are not identical.

Yet *Armorial Families* (a previous edition) admits as valid, *not* as a quartering, but as the actual coat of a Scottish landowner, the undifferenced arms of his mother's ancient house (though she was *not* its heir of line). And his arms, moreover, are *not* "entered in Lyon Register." Again we see that Mr. Fox-Davies cannot play his own game.

And now for a crowning proof. On the first page of the Prospectus we hear the trumpet's blast :—

From the standpoint of an accurate authority upon the official validity of armorial bearings, the reputation of 'Armorial Families' has rapidly increased and is unchallengeable.

Is it indeed? We have but to turn over a few pages of this very prospectus to find among its specimen coats, there selected, one with the startling heading :—

MAYHEW (temp. Henry III ; ped. H. Coll.) Gules
a chevron vair between three ducal coronets or.

The words within brackets mean that the earliest recognition of the arms was in the time of Henry III, and that the right to them is proved by a pedigree in the Heralds' College.¹ As the very earliest of our rolls of arms is no older than Henry III, it was fairly staggering to learn that a family of modest ancestry possessed this feudal distinction.

The pedigree of this family of Mayhew is well worth some discussion, not as of any interest in itself,—for the family was quite obscure,—but as an excellent illustration of what is described in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' as

The constant increase in our genealogical knowledge, due in a great manner to the patient and untiring labours of the families themselves.'

We have already seen how, in the same work, the pedigree of Smith-Carington flew back to the Norman Conquest, thanks to what Dr. Copinger terms the "untold enthusiasm" and "indefatigable energy" of Mr. Richard Smith-'Carington.' We have also seen how the Godman pedigree was hurried back towards the same goal in the same indulgent work. We will now deal with that of Mayhew.

Its development was contemporary with theirs. In Dr. Marshall's *Genealogist's Guide* (1893) we seek in vain for the Mayhew family among those

¹ So, for instance, on the opposite page we read, above the arms of Lydall
"(Vn. Berks 1664 ; Ped. H. Coll.)"

² Preface to 1906 edition.

whose pedigrees are in print. But in 1894 the family was allotted some four columns in 'Burke's Landed Gentry,' and was there allowed arms. But on close investigation we discover that this 'Lineage' comprises really four families of the name. The pedigree of that with which we are concerned begins there as follows :

Another branch of the family of Mayhew of Brockley, who used (*sic*) the old arms, settled at Church House, in the parish of Aldam (*sic*) co. Essex in the time of Queen Elizabeth. From the first settler descended *Robert Mayhew*, Esq. of Aldham, b. about 1665.

This definite statement has been, we shall see, abandoned, and, as in the Godman case, another 'opening' adopted.

As a matter of fact, the pedigree was at that time so obscure that John Mayhew, an ancestor who died in 1825, was made the son of "Robert Mayhew, Esq.," by "Elizabeth dau. of C. Richardson Esq.," though his mother now figures as "d. of Argor Negus of Church House, Aldham." The obscurity of the family, at Aldham, in the 18th century, can, as it happens, be proved ; for Morant, whose standard history of Essex appeared in 1768, was himself rector of the parish, and gives a careful list of those who owned land within it. And among them we seek in vain for any Mayhew. Although the pedigree describes Robert Mayhew (d. 1745) as "of the manor of Aldham Hall," we know from Morant that, when he wrote, this manor and Church House both belonged to the White family and that no Mayhew had ever held either of them.

The family, apparently, were tenant farmers and married farmers' daughters. Indeed, at least as late as 1869, as Essex Directories show, there were "farmers" of the name at Aldham.

A new "opening," as I said, has now been found for the pedigree. Robert, with whom the 'lineage' began, is not now stated to descend from a Mayhew who settled at Aldham "in the time of Queen Elizabeth:" he is made the son of a Robert Mayhew of Hawkedon, Suffolk, whose very existence is ignored in the pedigree of the Suffolk Mayhews in the 1894 edition of the same work. Whether he is rightly identified or not is a matter of small consequence, for so obscure was the family at the time that for four generations in succession the very surnames of the wives are unknown. And the descent alleged is only from a race of copyhold farmers in Suffolk.

But what concerns us is the real status of this founder of the family at Aldham, who, we now read, "purchased lands in (*sic*) the manor of Aldham Hall, 1712." We search for this Robert Mayhew—who was about contemporary with Robert Smith, the ancestor of the Smith-Carington family—and in the 'Oath Book' of the neighbouring town of Colchester we run him down at last. On July 24, 1729, there was admitted as a free burgess—in company with farmers etc. from the neighbourhood—"Robert Mayhew, of Ford Street, *smith*." ¹ We may, I think, assure the

¹ Ford Street is the actual village in the parish of Aldham and adjoins Fordham, in which also Robert Mayhew is alleged to have purchased land. See, for the entry, *Colchester Oath Book*, p. 231. We are indebted, for this work, to the industry and public spirit of Mr. W. Gurney Benham, sometime Mayor of Colchester.

sons of Sir Bernard Burke,¹ to say nothing of Mr. Fox-Davies, that our smith's arms were brawny arms, and that, in a famous phrase, he "used no other."

Such facts as these give a strange zest to the passage with which the preface of Messrs. Burke Brothers opens. Their work, we learn,—

comprises the genealogical history of that class in society which ranks in importance next to the privileged order²—the untitled country gentleman—a class, be it remembered, not one degree below the other in antiquity of descent, etc..... Invested with no hereditary titles, but inheriting landed estates, transmitted from generation to generation, in some instances from the period of the Conquest and the Plantagenets, this class has held and continues to hold the foremost place in each county.

This must have proved eminently gratifying to the *five hundred* fresh families admitted *en masse* into this edition.³

And now for Mr. Fox-Davies and his "un-challengeable" work. Here, taken from this same Prospectus, is his 'English Heraldic Law':—

a right to bear Arms at the present day depends in England upon direct descent in the male line from some person to whom Arms have been granted by patent, or from some other person whose right to Arms was registered or confirmed at the Visitations.

That, in a nutshell, is his whole case; by it he stands or falls. How then does the "Heralds' College pedigree" prove the right of these Mayhews to bear the coat assigned to them in this Pros-

¹ Who edited the *Landed Gentry* in 1894.

² This 'order' appears to consist of the peers and the baronets.

³ "More than five hundred additional pedigrees" (Preface to 1894 edition).

pectus? Does it show their descent "from some person to whom Arms have been granted by Patent"? Or does it trace their "descent from some other person whose right to Arms was registered or confirmed at the Visitation"? *It does neither.* It does not even attempt to show any hereditary right to arms: still less does it extend to the days of Henry III. It is traced only to a copyhold tenant in the 16th century.¹

Now let the reader understand what this means. It means that we need not even travel outside the four corners of Mr. Fox-Davies' prospectus to learn, from an instance of his own selection, the utter worthlessness of its loud pretension to be "an accurate authority upon the official validity of armorial bearings"..... "an authoritative work which should plainly distinguish the armorial bearings which were borne in the United Kingdom by proved and official authority". Those who may desire such information must go, not to *Armorial Families*, but to Heralds' College itself.

"It is difficult," we read in this same Prospectus, "to understand the state of mind that can care or wish to display Arms or Crest to which an unquestioned title cannot be shown." What most of us would find it hard to understand is how a "state of mind" can display either arms or crest. But Mr. Fox-Davies, in his rash excitement, breaks the fetters of English prose. What one has to insist on is that here is the very case which he has always so fiercely denounced, that of a family which, by his own rules, cannot prove its

¹ See the pedigree, as set forth in 'Burke's Landed Gentry' (1906).

right to arms. And it is he himself who aids and abets it by recognising, as we have seen, its right to an ancient coat. The exposure is complete.

We read, still in this same Prospectus, of

the storm of popular protest and vituperation with which the book was first greeted, and which it has successfully lived through.

But its author cannot dispose of such grave criticism as this, criticism based upon his own words, by terming it 'vituperation'. Unless he can rebut that criticism, the authority of his work is gone.

To the heraldic expert, however, the real student of heraldry, the most amazing part of the business is the "*temp.* Henry III." Can Mr. Fox-Davies be so ignorant of heraldry as to think that this Tudor coat¹ dates from the days of Henry III? Does he know the authorities for coats of that remote date? He cannot, apparently have realized how amazingly rare is the distinction which he accepts without hesitation, or he would have sought at least for some authority for his statement. It is, of course, sheer fiction.

For the source of this wild statement I long sought in vain. Then there flashed upon me its only possible explanation. On a roll attributed to the time of Henry III ('1240-1245') there is a coat assigned to "Herbert le Fitz Mahewe." But it has not the faintest resemblance to the Tudor coat of Mayhew. It is, in fact, the well-known coat of a wholly different family, the great house

¹ Its first official recognition, apparently, was at the Suffolk Visitation of 1664; but a variant of the coat is found at an Elizabethan visitation in Norfolk.

of Fitzherbert, in the form borne by one of its cadets, Herbert the son of Mathew! ¹

The contempt of Mr. Fox-Davies for the heraldry of the Middle Ages, for "parchments already musty with age," has borne its natural fruit and exposed his ignorance to the world.

The author of the so-called *Complete Guide* has brought this exposure on himself. It is the right, nay more, it is the duty of those who have made these things their serious study, to warn the public that more is needed to make one an authority on heraldry than the loud beating of one's drum or a blast upon one's own trumpet. Scholars can appraise at their right value the pretensions of one who informs his readers that *gens* means 'a man,' who imagines that a public record is preserved in the Tower of London, who discovers, in a grant of "the arms of St. Edward," a "grant of the arms of Plantagenet," whose ignorance of heraldry is so great that he is puzzled even by the arms of the Lords Ferrers of Groby and believes "fractured castles" were borne by the Lords Willoughby, and, lastly, who confuses a family of farmers with a race of feudal barons.

To him they leave that heraldry of to-day which he has succeeded in reducing to an even lower level as the means of flattering the newly risen by proclaiming them, in virtue of a grant of arms, as holders of "the lesser nobility" or parading them as "gentlemen of coat-armour." Let him henceforth confine himself to this field, and learn, at least, to play there according to his own rules.

¹ 'Maheu' in French.

For them the science of the shield has another and a worthier aim; to them it speaks in its own tongue on church and manor-house, on the monument and the seal; it illumines those "parchments and writings already musty with age," and makes the storied past live and move before their eyes. It brings to their minds the tournament and the joust, and the knight harnessed for battle. They think of Evesham, of the great earl, scanning the tumult of banners in front of that advancing host—his life hanging on the arms they bore. He saw at last the lions of England, the chevrons of the house of Clare, and cried, as the fatal coats told him that all was over, "Let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are the foe's."

In the words of one who, in his knowledge of heraldry, stands to-day supreme:—

For us at least the study of the use of arms in its native age, an age which has passed utterly away, is all that remains for the student of armory. By such study we shall add in some humble measure to the knowledge of the history of our land, and looking away from a grey and ordered time we shall delight our eyes with the fantastic beauty of that true armory, chief tirewoman to those dead years which once went in scarlet with ornaments of gold on their apparel.¹

¹ Mr. Oswald Barron in *The Ancestor*, VI, 174.

FINIS

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